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villagers on a ritual occasion. If the institution of caste has a tendency to lay stress on 'horizontal unity', the harvest festival tends to counterpoise it by stressing the unity of the village.

VI

The nuclear unit of Coorg society is the *okka* or patrilineal joint family, and only the male members of an *okka* have any rights in the ancestral estate. Women born in the *okka* leave it on marriage, while the women who come into it by marriage have extremely limited rights in the ancestral estate. No woman may be head of an *okka*. A Coorg proverb says, 'a woman may not be the head of an *okka*, and a bitch may not be given a share of the game it helps to kill in a hunt'.[1]

Only sons can continue the *okka*. But when there are no sons, a daughter, or widow of a dead son is married in either the *okka parijé* or *makka parijé* way (see pp. 129–30), which has the effect of granting the children of either form of union membership of their mother's natal *okka*. If it is not possible to perpetuate the *okka* in either of these ways, a boy from another *okka* is adopted.

There is a sexual division of labour, men generally doing the work outside the house while women do the work inside. The tasks done by men are in a vague way regarded as superior to those done by women. The men cultivate or supervise the cultivation of land by low-caste labourers. However, agriculture is not, and has never been, their sole occupation. The army has always attracted Coorgs, and nowadays educated Coorgs are to be found in every profession.

Village-assemblies and *nāḍ*-assemblies were formerly vigorous institutions and only men normally took part in them. The men went in annual caravans to Malabar, in the dry season, to sell their surplus rice and buy salt, jaggery, coconut, coconut oil, tobacco, and fish. They also had the privilege and duty of conducting the elaborate festivals of village-deities and calendar festivals such as the harvest festival.

Coorg women's activities are on the whole confined to the house. They cook food for the twenty or thirty members of the *okka*. They look after the children and servants, the storing of food, the raising of pig and fowl, and so on. The younger women have to bring

[1] Even today at a collective hunt bitches are not entitled to any share in the meat of the hunted animal, while each of the dogs is given a share.

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During the festival of Kētrappa at Benglor, the Poleyas may not be seen by any high caste villager till the eighteenth day of the festival, but on the eighteenth evening they march in procession with pipe and drum to the Kētrappa temple and watch the ritual from a nearby knoll. They bring offerings of fowls to Kētrappa, and the birds are decapitated by Mēdas, who have an important part in the festival. The Kētrappa festival seems to be an extreme instance of the exclusion of Poleyas. In the festivals of other village-deities they participate to a greater extent, though on a different level from the rest.

Every village has an hereditary headman called *takka*. It is the headman's duty to see that the village greens (*mandus*) where dances and dinners are held, and the village assembly meets, are kept in good condition. He has to ensure that the bridges and ferries in the village are in constant repair and that the village tank is clean. He has to look after pilgrims and travellers passing through the village.

Coorgs have a keen appreciation of leadership and precedence. From their folklore it appears as though they are incapable of conceiving of any group, of no matter what, without a leader. The epithet consistently applied to a headman is '*mūpayanda*' which means 'precedence-having'. A sense of precedence and respect for seniority helped to introduce order into their meetings, just as a respect for precedents produced a consistent body of decisions on any particular matter.

Formerly a headman wielded great influence in his village (or *nāḍ*), and a good headman was a powerful factor for stability. If the headman was a bad man, the entire village was ruined: as a proverb has it, 'when the *takka* is a loafer the entire village is like the area inhabited by Untouchables'. In the management of village affairs and the settlement of village disputes the headman was assisted by an assembly consisting of the representatives of the various *okkas* in the village. The assembly was called *kūṭa*, which means a 'gathering' or 'group'. It met on one of the several greens in the village. There were separate village greens for transacting business (*panchāyati mandu*), for dancing at the harvest festival (*ūr mandu*), a third for dancing at the festival of the village-deity (*dēvaṛa mandu*), and so on. Sometimes there was a roofed enclosure (*ambala*) on the green, which provided shelter from rain and sun for the assembly to meet, and for women to watch the dances.

The village-assemblies were far more powerful in the past than

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as symbols of its identity and individuality, if not superiority. The saw '*ār nāḍku nūr pāje*', which might be translated as 'six *nāḍs*, hundred customs', testifies to the great cultural diversity within Coorg.

A *nāḍ* might differ from other *nāḍs* in the matter of the date of observance of important festivals such as the harvest festival and festival of arms. It might also differ in the articles used in the festival ritual: for instance, the plants used in the harvest festival ritual vary in different *nāḍs*, and this is due to the fact that in each area the plants locally prolific are chosen to express a wish for growth.

The various villages of a *nāḍ* co-operate on certain occasions as the harvest festival and the periodical festival of the local village-deity. During the harvest festival, on the day after the village dance (*ūr kōlu*), a dance for the entire *nāḍ* (*nāḍ kōlu*) is held in which all the men of the *nāḍ* take part. Games testing the strength and skill of individuals are also held on this occasion, and this provides an opportunity for the canalization of inter-village rivalry, just as at a festival in a village the games played canalizes inter-*okka* rivalry.

When the bridegroom is marching in state to the bride's house it is customary for the villages in the groom's *nāḍ* to offer him the 'plantain honour' (*bāḷé birudu*): a row of three stout plaintain stems are fixed to the ground near the boundary (*mundalé*) of the village or *nāḍ*, and the groom is asked to cut the stems with his sword. The groom delegates someone to cut the stems on his behalf. The man offering the groom the 'plantain honour' should be wearing a Coorg gown, and he offers the party warm water to wash their hands and feet, mats to sit on, and betel leaves and arecanut to chew. (Warm water, mat, and betel and nut are all symbols of hospitality and respect in Coorg as elsewhere in India.) If the party arrive at night the host provides them with torches for the road. The groom has to pay a money gift of two *paṇas* (about six annas) to the host in acknowledgement of the honour and hospitality done to him and his party.

A man has a great love for his *nāḍ*. This comes out repeatedly in Coorg folklore. An infant boy, called Chondu, was orphaned, and the *nāḍ* elders had to make arrangements for his care. When Chondu reached the years of discretion he wanted to show how deeply he appreciated what his *nāḍ* had done for him. He deter-

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mined to become a great fighter: he would challenge every village and *nāḍ* to produce someone to fight him in single combat (*otté poyit*). He would defeat them all and this would bring great glory to his *nāḍ*. He travelled about Coorg sitting in a palanquin, challenging every village either to produce someone to fight him or give him a sum of money in acknowledgement of defeat. His technique was to go to the village temple and order the priest to stop worshipping the deity till either his challenge was met or the sum of money asked for was paid. The latter course was chosen by most villages.

His challenge was, however, accepted by a mere boy called Appayya (of the Kaiyandira *okka*) in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. When Appayya's mother remonstrated at his having accepted the challenge of a great fighter like Chondu, the spirited boy replied, 'Until now you were my mother, but from now on my *nāḍ* is my mother.' Appayya defeated and killed Chondu by resorting to trickery: he first of all blinded Chondu by suddenly throwing sand into his eyes and then stabbed him.

Honours were showered on the boy-hero by a grateful *nāḍ*. The ceremony of *mangala* (see Chapter III) was performed for him. He was placed in a position of seniority to everyone in the *nāḍ* and none was allowed to call him by name. He had to be addressed as '*pĕriya moli*' which means 'big elder'. He was prohibited from touching anyone's feet in salutation. Also, as he had ensured the continuity of worship at the Choli Povvedi temple in Arapaṭ, certain privileges were conferred on Appayya *vis-à-vis* the temple: he could go there even when under pollution (*polé*), and he could go to the annual festival of the deity sitting in the palanquin in which his opponent had sat during his journey through Coorg.

The office of the 'big elder' was hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka* till the latter became extinct. The headman of the *okka* was the 'big elder', and when he died his successor became the 'big elder'. The honour was conferred at a *mangala* ceremony which was performed in the open quadrangle of the Kaiyandīra house.

Coorg was traditionally divided into twelve *kombus*, but the *kombu* appears as a shadowy unit beside the *nāḍ* and the village; and the occasional coming together of two or three *nāḍs* under a chief during the pre-Lingāyaṭ days, or to discuss a matter of common interest, cannot be treated as a permanent feature of the structure.

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634 While groups wider than the *nāḍ* are shadowy, the same cannot be said of the *sīmé*-headmen, who are higher than *nāḍ*-headmen. There are eight *sīmé*-headmen in Coorg Proper, and they are usually mentioned in pairs. Each pair of *sīmé*-headmen comes from the same *nāḍ*: Kaḷḷangala and Boḷḷera from Tāvaḷagērimūrnāḍ, Mātanḍa and Buḍuvanḍa from Beppunāḍ, Pānḍira and Paradanḍa from Nālknāḍ, and finally, Pōreyanḍa and Paruvanḍa from Tāvunāḍ.

596 628 634 Feuds between *okkas* seem to have continued well into the latter half of the last century. In 1870 Ritcher wrote: 'It may still happen, that the head of a Coorg house on his dying bed will solemnly charge his sons to seek vengeance on his personal enemies, a bequest which occasions calamitous feuds between succeeding generations.'[1] A feud between *okkas* was called *kuḍupi*, while a feud between villages or between *nāḍs* was called *maradalé*. It is likely that feuds between *okkas* in the same village were extremely rare as the village was too compact a unit to permit of feuds within it. But the same cannot be said of villages within the same *nāḍ*. The annual dance, at the harvest festival, for all the villages of Ballatnāḍ, is nowadays attended only by Pērūr, and this is attributed to the former prevalence of feuds between the various villages composing this *nāḍ*.

628 634 539 Formerly feuds between *nāḍs* were very common, and folklore bears ample testimony to this fact. There was a long feud between Bēngunāḍ and Ballatnāḍ in the course of which they conducted raids on each other. A hero called Appaṇṇa, who later came to be famous as Kappaṇṇa or 'robber', was born in Ballatnāḍ, and when he was born all the people of Bēngunāḍ suffered from headache. Later he raided the Povvedi temple in Bēngūr, and robbed it of the two wooden pins (*kīlu*) with which the temple's see-saw (*rāṭé*) was fixed to two wooden posts. Pilgrims used to sit on the see-saw at the periodical festival of Povvedi of Bēngūr.

The robbing of the wooden pins belonging to the Bēngūr Povvedi temple was a triumph for Balmāvṭi. The latter had a see-saw made and used it at the biennial festival of the Povvedi of Balmāvṭi. At the beginning of the festival of Povvedi of Balmāvṭi there is a rite at which a festival-priest enumerates the restrictions which have to be observed during the festival period, and one of these restrictions states that no one from Bēngūr may approach

[1] *Manual of Coorg*, p. 126.

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the sacred see-saw. Several years ago my friend Shri Paṭṭamāḍa Ponnappa of Bēngūr was asked, during the bienniel festival, not to touch the see-saw.

The entire atmosphere of Coorg folklore is martial: secret raids, fights, heroes, and intrigues are the stuff out of which a folksong is made. The bards delight when a hero is born in their *nāḍ*. They describe the event with gusto. There is a storm, the earth trembles, and the men in the hostile *nāḍ* suffer from headache. On the other hand, the bards wail with self-pity when their *nāḍ* suffers a defeat in a fight. The men of the *nāḍ* go on pilgrimage to their patron-deity and pray to him for the birth of a hero in their midst.

In a fight between two *nāḍs*, the temples belonging to either side were commonly attacked. In fact, a temple constituted the most sensitive part of a *nāḍ*. The prevention of the offer of worship to the deity of another *nāḍ* inflicted a very deep humiliation on the latter; and the stealing of the property of the temple of another *nāḍ* was as bad. In a struggle between two *nāḍs* which centred round their temples, the deity of the triumphant *nāḍ* was regarded as having triumphed over the deity of the defeated *nāḍ*. A devotee of the deity of a *nāḍ* was also a patriot of that *nāḍ*. He had to take up arms to ensure the continuance of the offer of worship at the temple of his *nāḍ* or village, and to see that raiders did not succeed in carrying away the property of the temple.

Patriotism for one's *nāḍ* was widespread and deep, and even women and children were imbued with it. Women were in an unfortunate position as they were torn between their love for their natal *nāḍ* and their duty towards their conjugal *nāḍ*. There are instances of women working for their natal *nāḍ* against their conjugal *nāḍ* when the two were at feud with each other.

The widespread prevalence of feuds did have one important structural consequence. They very effectively counteracted the tendency of caste to stress the horizontal ties at the expense of the vertical ties. But with the conquest of Coorg by the Lingāyaṭ Rājas and the decrease of feuds, the horizontal emphasis of caste increased. Thus wider political integration strengthened caste.

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783 827 The Koḍagi term for spittle is *tupnir* (*tupparadu* in Tamil means 'to spit'), and it is essential to distinguish between spittle and objects which have come into contact with spittle directly or indirectly. The Koḍagi term for the latter class of objects is *enji* (Kannaḍa, *enjalu*, Tamil and Malayāḷam, *echchal*). A man who touches his tongue with a finger defiles his entire hand. This is prohibited normally and especially so while cooking, or serving food, or praying. If he touches a dish of food with a finger which has come into contact with his tongue, he defiles the entire dish. None may eat it.

783 827 539 A Coorg folk-tale illustrates extremely well the power of spittle. Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, set out from Malabar in search of shelter. Three brothers manage, however, to find 'shelter' in Malabar villages alone. The other three brothers, together with their sister, cross over into Coorg. As soon as they cross the border a struggle for supremacy develops between the brothers and sister. The latter defeats the former in several trials of skill. The brothers then conspire to overthrow the sister. After dinner they all chew betel leaves and areca-nut. One of the brothers takes the chewed stuff out of his mouth and, holding it before the others, says, 'See how red my stuff is'! The others follow suit. The sister's stuff is redder than everybody else's. The brothers then pretend to take the chewed stuff back to their mouths. The sister is taken in and actually puts the stuff into her mouth. The brothers, after making certain that the sister has put her stuff into her mouth, throw their stuff behind their backs. They all exclaim, 'You have eaten *enji*; you have lost your caste'. The unfortunate sister is heartbroken, but the brothers are adamant, and force her to become the deity of Poleyas!

783 827 Nail and hair parings are impure, and they have to be thrown far away from the house. Poverty will result if they are scattered in the house.

[305] While a person occasionally pares his finger and toe nails, he does not cut his own hair. This is the barber's job, and the barber's touch defiles a Coorg. The latter takes a bath and changes his clothes after he has been shaved. The place where the barber and his customer sat is purified.

Faeces, urine, semen, menstrual blood, spittle, and parings of nail and hair are all ritually impure.[1] As such they are inconsistent

[1] The natural functions of the body are a great source of pollution, and this idea is at the bottom of the asceticism which is present in Hinduism.

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and failure to do so renders her suspect. It is fairly easy for a widow to secure a husband, while there is great reluctance to marrying a divorcée. Again, a widow is permitted to marry after a minimum period of six months have elapsed after the death of her husband, while a divorcée may remarry only after a year has elapsed since the granting of divorce. A widow is entitled to visit her children in their father's house, whereas a divorcée is not entitled to do so. Finally, a widow who has returned to her natal *okka* may marry again into her late husband's *okka*, whereas the doors of the former husband's *okka* are for ever shut to the divorcée.[1]

But the divorcée and widow are alike in this, that neither has a husband, and a woman, normally speaking, should not be without a husband. An unattached woman is a threat to the stability of existing social relations and to the moral code of the community. The widow and divorcée are both regarded with a certain amount of suspicion.

VIII

The children of an ordinary marriage are members of their father's *okka*. The fact of birth confers this all-important right on them and no special ceremony conferring membership is necessary. In *okka parijé* and *makka parijé* unions, however, the children belong to the natal *okka* of their mother, and this is only natural as the object of such alliances is the continuation of the mother's natal *okka*, threatened with extinction for lack of an agnatic male descendant.

The important fact is that the children of a sanctioned union are members of an *okka*, either their father's or mother's, and such membership they acquire by reason of birth. But the children of an unsanctioned union do not have membership in any *okka*, and they have to be given membership in either their father's or mother's *okka* some time subsequent to their birth.

In those rare cases where the existence of very special reasons lead to the children of a widow or divorcée being permitted to be transferred to their mother's *okka* from their father's *okka*, the unanimous consent of the members of both the concerned *okkas* is regarded as essential. After the widow or divorcée has been ritually

[1] A Coorg saw says that one may marry a widow but not a divorcée: *kețța poṇṇana bāvalu, buțța poṇṇana bāvakāga.*

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severed from her conjugal *okka* the children are also severed from their paternal *okka*. While the widow or divorcée automatically reverts to her natal *okka*, her children have to be given rights at a special *sammanda* ceremony.[1]

If, however, the widow or divorcée marries again, the children do not follow her automatically into her new husband's *okka*. They are members of their mother's *okka*, and the unanimous consent of the members of their mother's *okka* and that of the members of the mother's new husband's *okka* is necessary to transfer them from one to the other.

Elders usually make efforts to ensure that the children of an unsanctioned union are given membership of their father's *okka*. It is clearly recognized that he who had the pleasure of being genitor has the duty of becoming pater as well, and this means that the children of an unsanctioned union have to be made members of the genitor's *okka*. Where, however, for various reasons the children cannot be given membership of their father's *okka*, they are given membership of their mother's *okka*. It is feared that if the children do not have membership in any *okka* people will refer to them contemptuously as 'the children born of adultery' (*mai kaṇat makka*).[2]

When a girl becomes pregnant as the result of union with a man not married to her, the girl's relatives press for recognition of the union. The man involved and his people might agree at once, in which case the girl's relatives have to go to the boys' home and give a feast to the relatives of the man and members of his village. The girl's relatives should carry with them all the provisions of this dinner, excepting mustard and salt.[3]

[1] The *sammanda* formulas used on this occasion are fundamentally similar to the formulas used in other cases. That is why I have not described them.

[2] In the folktale of Kanniaḍa Kāmayya, the boy Kāmayya's playmates refer to him contemptuously as 'one who is without a father'. Kāmayya is greatly hurt by this and tells his mother that he will fast unto death if the identity and whereabouts of his father are not disclosed. His mother tells him that he is miraculously born, and that his father is the very sacred axe (*chandrāyudha*) which is a symbol for a deity.

[3] Among Coorgs as among other patrilineal and patrilocal castes of south India, a girl has her first confinement in her natal home. The first confinement is believed to be a dangerous and critical affair, and it is considered best for the girl to have her mother and other relatives of her natal home with her at this time.

During the fifth or seventh month of a girl's first pregnancy, her mother and other relatives go to their affines carrying with them all the provisions of a

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brother (classificatory): the father's first, second, and third cousins are his 'brothers', and a daughter of any of these relatives is avoided for marriage. Coorgs remember their agnatic connexions even where they overflow the *okka*, and marriage with the daughter or sister of an agnatic relative is avoided.

Every *okka* has a distinct name, a fact which helps in the avoidance of incestuous relations. When a branch of an *okka* splits off and in course of time becomes a separate *okka*, there is no intermarriage between the parent-*okka* and the offspring-*okka*. Thus there are two Biddaṇḍa *okkas*, and there is no intermarriage between their members as they remember that they are agnatically related and that in the past they constituted a single *okka*.

Sometimes the possession of a common name by several *okkas* does not indicate the prevalence of any connexion between them. For instance, there are several *okkas* called Mukkāṭira, a name originally acquired, in each case, by the founder of the *okka* holding a certain office in a temple. In such a case, there is usually a prefix specifying which Mukkāṭira *okka* is meant: Kunjalagēri Mukkāṭira refers to the Mukkāṭira *okka* of Kunjalagēri village and not to any other Mukkāṭira *okka*.

A man is also prohibited from marrying the daughter of his mother's sister (classificatory). Terminologically a man's mother's sisters are identified with his mother, and their daughters with his sisters. The mother's line may be called the 'buried line', and it comes into prominence negatively in the avoidance of a mother's sister's daughter for marriage, and positively in the latter relative's being identified with the sister. Such accordance of importance to maternal relatives is an attempt to balance the enormous importance accorded to paternal relatives in a kinship-system the foundation of which is the patrilineal, patrilocal *okka*.

The only relative a man may marry is his cross-cousin, his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. Coorgs, like other speakers of the Dravidian languages, have a classificatory kinship terminology which accords with cross-cousin marriage.

Cross-cousin marriage is preferred and common. It is of the symmetrical variety though there seems to be a slight preference for marriage with the father's sister's daughter as compared with the mother's brother's daughter. A proverb tells us, 'The father's sister's daughter's body is sweet, the juice of the blue sugar-cane is

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582 sweet'. In the ancient marriage song which is sung at every marriage
[539] the bride is made out to be the daughter of the groom's father's sister. An old saying tells us, '*tān banda baṭṭena marapakāga*' (one should not forget the path by which one has come): a woman is enjoined not to forget her natal *okka* from which she has come into her conjugal *okka*. One daughter at least ought to go in marriage to the natal *okka* of her mother. Such a system binds two *okkas* very closely, and the loss of a girl to an *okka* is compensated later by the return of the latter's daughter to her mother's natal *okka* in marriage. This is unlike the other variety of cross-cousin marriage in which one *okka* is perpetually recruiting girls from another *okka* without ever repaying.

582 The traditional preference for marriage with a cross-cousin
585 comes out in a rite which is performed at marriage. When the groom is leading the bride out of her house after the performance of *sammanda*, he is obstructed at the main door of the bride's house by the bride's cross-cousin. The cross-cousin says that the bride belongs to him and that he will not let her go. It is only when the groom has given him a gold coin that he lets the bride go. The cross-cousin adds another gold coin to the one the groom has given him and ties the two together in a corner of the bride's *sari*. The gold coins now belong to the bride. The incident is nowadays looked upon as a joke.

606 The preference for cross-cousin marriage expresses itself in
596 ritual, and there are structural reasons for such preference. Among the patrilineal castes all over India, not only is the conflict between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law a common feature of joint family existence, the inability of the daughter-in-law to get on with her affinal kindred is frequently cited as the chief reason for
[539] fission in the joint family. The Kannaḍa peasants of Mysore have a proverb, 'A thousand moustaches can live together, but not four breasts'.

The daughter-in-law is a stranger to the groom's kin-group and her interests frequently do not harmonize with the interests of the groom's kin-group. The latter want the joint family to remain united, and the bride obedient to her mother-in-law, and able to get on with her husband's brother's wives and the husband's sisters. The bride finds such an existence irksome, and she would like her husband to leave his joint family and found a separate household. Her kin-group are usually behind her in this, either

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The daughter looks upon her natal home as a haven of refuge in the first few years of married life. Her first confinement takes place in her natal home because it is considered proper for the girl to be with people with whom she can be at ease.

A proverb tells us that 'the mother's love for her daughter rendered her unfit to live with her husband, the sitting hen's love destroyed the egg'. An overfond mother tries to drag her married daughter away from her husband, and this might eventually break up the marriage.

The elementary family, which is a part of the *okka* or joint family, is weakly structured among Coorgs. This is because the *okka* is so strong that it does not permit the elementary families inside it to be strong units. There is no separate term for the elementary family.

The solidarity of the elementary family does not obtain expression in ritual. It is true that the affinal tie is very strongly emphasized in mourning, and the eldest son is a mourner of the first grade, and sometimes a younger son or daughter is also called upon to become a first-grade mourner. But usually the younger children of the dead person are not distinguished from the other younger members of the *okka*.

The fact that the elementary family is weakly structured among Coorgs does not mean that it has no solidarity; and in the last 120 years its solidarity has been increasing at the expense of the solidarity of the *okka* of which it is a part. Coorg ancestral houses are large, sprawling affairs, and the members of each elementary family within an *okka* occupy either a room, or a couple of rooms, or an entire wing. Sometimes they occupy one of two or three houses belonging to the *okka*. A member of the M-*okka* once told me, 'When this house was built over seventy years ago there were only two or three people in it. But our ancestors were so wise that they built a large house with a number of rooms so that all their descendants could live in it.' Now each of the married brothers and his children occupy a room or a couple of rooms inside it.

The unity of the elementary families within the *okka* appears in certain non-ritual contexts. For instance, parents take sides with their own children against the children of another member of the *okka* in the frequent quarrels of children. A proverb tells us that 'the *okka* went to ruin over the children's talk'. Quarrels arise when 'the children of the *okka* play together, and these children's quarrels

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lead to the elders having an argument, an argument which might later split the *okka*. Another proverb tells us that 'children's play leads to the *okka's* ruin'.

Marriage is very nearly universal among Coorgs, and bachelors and spinsters are very rare indeed. A man's social personality is fully developed only when he has married and become a father, and consequently a bachelor is regarded as one who is not fully developed.

It is believed that a bachelor dies with many unsatisfied desires in his heart. While a gold coin is placed in the mouth of the corpse of a married man, a bitter fruit is kept in the mouth of a bachelor's corpse. A bachelor's ghost is regarded as mischievous, and the ghost of a bachelor-warrior as even more mischievous.

During the periodical ancestor-propitiations in a Coorg *okka*, songs are sung recounting the deeds of each ancestor. The name of a bachelor-ancestor is omitted from such a song unless he had proved an exceptional success in life, or had died while fighting in battle. Such exceptional qualifications are not, however, required from a married ancestor. A bachelor's personality is normally incomplete, and only the achievement of exceptional social importance can outweigh this fact.

Sanskritic Hinduism prescribes marriage for every adult. And only a married man may perform certain important rites.[1] A man and his wife constitute a single spiritual entity, and a wife shares in the spiritual merit acquired by her husband. Sanskritic Hinduism also enjoins on the wife the duty of effacing herself completely for her husband.

The strength of the husband–wife bond and the subservience of the wife to the husband express themselves in ritual. When a Coorg couple bathe in the source of the river Kāvēri during the Kāvēri Festival, the ends of their garments are tied together: Hindus in every part of India observe this custom when they are bathing in a sacred river or tank.

Until recent years a Coorg bride and groom never sat together for the performance of *mūrta*. *Mūrta* was performed separately for the groom and bride in their respective houses on the first day of

[1] A Brahmin friend of mine married soon after the lapse of the required period of a year after the death of his father because the performance of certain rites like the periodical offerings to dead ancestors and the worship of the deities traditionally worshipped by his family required him to be married. He was the eldest son of his father.

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769 exist cheek by jowl as far as the bulk of Coorgs are concerned.
782 The more inquiring of the men see the two modes of propitiation
184 as mutually inconsistent, but such an inconsistency does not seriously trouble anyone. All over India Sanskritic and non-Sanskritic customs, often involving beliefs regarded as mutually inconsistent, are found existing together. Usually, the non-Sanskritic custom either drops out or is transformed to suit the Sanskritic custom, but this process takes a very long time. There is also no doubt, however, that the non-Sanskritic customs of every caste as well as those of sects and peripheral groups are continually being Sanskritized. This has been happening for over 2,000 years all over India.

Splinter groups like Amma Coorgs are decades, if not centuries, in advance of their parent-groups: the former have solved their problem by Sanskritizing their customs entirely while the latter are more conservative. Sometimes the splinter groups are so far in advance of their neighbours that they incur the wrath of everyone. They might even be ostracized by the other castes.

XV

776 It has already been mentioned that every *okka* has a *nāta*, which
778 is a platform where unhewn stones representing cobra-deities are embedded. Vegetation is allowed to grow freely around this plat-
562 form. There is a ban on women approaching the cobra-platform during their periods as the cobra-deities are extremely sensitive to impurity of any sort. Though women no longer observe seclusion during their periods, they are even now afraid of going near the cobra-platform because of the belief that its defilement would result in some misfortune to their *okka*. The angered cobra-deity
● [539] may be roused to bite a member. This is clearly seen in the ancient saw, 'The deceit of women is very great, O, Snake, please do not bite us' (*pommakkaḍa māya marmāya pāmbē, ariyaté tiriyaté koriyaté pāmbē*): a member prays to the cobra-deity not to bite even though it has been angered by women going near the cobra-platform during their periods. Women are likely to conceal such violations
[783] from others, especially males. If they are frank enough to tell what they have done, purificatory and expiatory rites could be performed
776 to appease the cobra-deity.
778 Among Hindus all over India, cobras and the ant-hills in which

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nāḍs under a chief called Nāyaka, who was usually at feud with other similar chiefs. For some time even after the country had been effectively brought under the control of the Lingāyaṭs Rājas, feuds between *nāḍs* continued to occur.

The play of Kungu which is enacted in the south-western parts of Coorg during the harvest festival gives us a picture of Coorg in the days when inter-*nāḍ* feuds were common. *Maradalé* (feud) was prevalent between Beppunāḍ and Kadiyetnāḍ, and it was so bitter that there was no intermarriage between them. They conducted raids on each other constantly. In one of these raids an arrow from a Beppunāḍ man lodged itself in the body of a Kaḍiyetnāḍ man. The injured fighter was carried by his friends to Chendappaṇḍa Kungu, a famous doctor in Eḍenālknāḍ. Kungu agreed to treat the injured man because Eḍenālknāḍ and Kaḍiyetnāḍ were friendly to each other. But Kungu's mother was born in Beppunāḍ and she persuaded her son to neglect the injured man, who belonged to a *nāḍ* which was the traditional enemy of her natal *nāḍ*. The injured man died as a result of Kungu's neglect.

It was common for deities to be identified with their *nāḍs*. Temples were always chosen for attack. The story of Chengeṭṭira Appaṇṇa stealing the wooden pins belonging to the see-saw of the Bēngūr Povvedi temple has already been narrated. The most successful way of rousing the wrath of a *nāḍ* or village was by attacking one of its temples.

A patriot was also a devotee. The story of Kaiyandira Appayya brings out this point clearly. Appayya, a mere boy, whose ear-boring *mangala* had not yet been performed, was cut to the quick when he learnt that the well-known fighter, Kullachenḍa Chōndu, had tried to prevent the offer of worship at the temple of Chōli Povvedi in Arapaṭ village in Kaḍiyetnāḍ. Appayya persuaded the elders of Kaḍiyetnāḍ to permit him to fight Chōndu, whom he killed by resorting to unfair means. Appayya's action, instead of meeting with disapproval, earned him great rewards. *Mangala* ceremony was performed for him, and a number of privileges were conferred on him by a grateful *nāḍ*. These privileges later became hereditary in the Kaiyandira *okka*.

When a hero was born in a hostile *nāḍ*, all the people in the *nāḍ* suffered from headache. The tower of its most important temple was damaged, guns hanging from the roof fired of their own accord, babies sleeping in cradles suddenly woke up, frightened, and so on.

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maṇa towards his eldest brother Rāma, testifies to the utter strangeness of Malabar. It is so strange that people setting foot in it behave in an unpredictable way. This is doubly proved by Lakshmaṇa's great act of contrition immediately on returning to Coorg.

In the folksongs, deities are frequently reported as having migrated from Malabar or South Canara into Coorg. It is true that the deities are created 'beyond the Seven Seas, on the shore of the Milk Sea', but they subsequently migrate to a town on the west coast, whence they proceed inland, towards Coorg, to seek shelter. In the story of the two deities, Achchaiah (m.) and Akkavva (f.), brother and sister, at first wander all over Malabar seeking shelter. They are directed to Coorg by some deities whom they went to in their search for shelter, and as soon as they cross into Coorg, Akkavva tells Achchaiah, 'O elder brother, when people see us wandering about together they will think that we are husband and wife, and not brother and sister. Let us take an escort with us'. Achchaiah accepts his sister's advice and takes a Poleya servant. This incident raises the question, 'why did not Akkavva think of taking an escort before crossing over into Coorg'? It assumes that a person need not be particular about what he does in Malabar.

Educated Coorgs assert that Achchayya is a popular name for Vishṇu, and Akkavva for Lakshmi. This makes out Achchaiah and Akkavva to be husband and wife, and not brother and sister—the precaution taken by Akkavva in the story was in vain! It is only one instance of Sanskritization producing an inconsistency. According to the general rule mentioned in the '*dēsha keṭṭ pāṭ*', there is a 'Mādēva (Mahādēva or Shiva) for every *nāḍ* and Povvedi (Bhagavati) for every village'. This rule is interpreted in such a way by Coorgs that every male village-deity who is not said to be a form of Vishṇu is said to be a form of Mādēva, and every female village-deity who is not said to be a form of Lakshmi is said to be a form of Bhagavati, wife of Mādēva. After giving the popular name of a village-deity, Coorgs frequently take care to add that 'he is *really* Vishṇu (or Shiva)'.

The story of the seven deities is relevant here. Seven deities, six brothers and a sister, wandered all over Malabar in search of shelter. The first three deities, Kānyarāṭappa, Tirchembarappa, and Bendrukōlappa, found shelter in Malabar villages alone, while the remaining four went to Coorg in search of shelter. They crossed

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the mountains separating Coorg from Malabar by following the Pāḍitora Pass. The pass brought them to a mountain to the south-west of Nālknāḍ, and standing on top of the mountain they saw the whole of Coorg stretching before them. One of the four suggested that they should all shoot arrows from the mountain-top and find out which of them shot farthest. The arrows shot by the brothers fell in Ammangēri village while the sister's arrow fell in Pannangāla. The sister had beaten the brothers decisively.

The sister then asked the brothers, 'Will you eat without salt if I cook food without fire?' Calculating that it was impossible to cook food without fire, the brothers readily agreed to the sister's suggestion. The sister put some rice into a bamboo vessel containing milk and buried the vessel in sand which was very hot from the midday sun. By the time the brothers and sister had bathed and changed into ritually pure robes, the rice had been cooked in the boiling milk.

The sister served the insipid rice to the brothers who sat before the disagreeable food looking up and down. The brothers then took the rice in their hands and threw it up into the air saying, 'O younger sister, this is how hailstones fall during the monsoon.' The sister hit the brothers on their jaws with her ladle saying, 'O elder brothers, this is how lightning crashes in the monsoon.' The infuriated brothers got up from their meal at once, and washed their hands and mouths.

The brothers, beaten in the two contests with their sister, seem to have decided to take revenge by underhand means. I deliberately say 'seem to have', as in the version of the folksong I have secured there is no reference to any premeditated plan on their part. But their subsequent actions make such an inference necessary. There was another contest between the brothers and sister after the unsuccessful meal at the end of which the sister was tricked into putting back into her mouth betel stuff which she had taken out to show everyone. (For details see p. 104.) The brothers then told the sister that she had lost her caste because she had put back into her mouth something she had spat out. The sister was beside herself with grief: she beat her head, rolled on the floor, and wept bitterly. The eldest of the brothers then told her, 'Listen, younger sister, we did not deceive you, you are yourself responsible for your present plight. We are unable to help you. I advise you to settle down in Pannangāla village and become the deity of Poleyas, who will have

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a festival in your honour every year on the first of Aries. They will perform a dance, and offer you fowls. You possess them, and grant children to the childless.' The sister was inconsolable, and said that she could not bear the smell of Poleyas. But the eldest brother was adamant, and the reluctant sister closed both her eyes and assuming the form of a crane flew away to Pannangāla. In the latter village she possessed the Poleya servant of the Kartaṇḍa *okka* who tried to catch the crane. This deity is now known as Pannangālatammé (*ammé* means 'mother').

The eldest of the three brothers settled down on a mountain near the Pāḍitora Pass, and he is known as Iggutappa. It is said that on the first of Aries, when the festival of Pannangālatammé is being observed, Iggutappa's hill is covered with clouds, and it rains a little on the hill. Iggutappa, it is said, is very sorry for his poor sister who was forced to become a deity of the Poleyas, and he sheds tears for her fate. (Iggutappa is identified by educated Coorgs with Subramaṇya.)

The elder of the two remaining brothers settled down in Pālūr and is known as Pālūrappa. He is identified with Vishṇu. The last of the brothers settled down in the southern frontier of Coorg in Tirnelli and he is known as Tirnelli Pemmayya. He guards the frontier from Māri, the goddess presiding over epidemic diseases, and from thieves. He, too, is identified with Vishṇu.

Certain features of this myth may be noted. (1) The deities setting out from Malabar are related as brothers and sister. (2) They have a sense of seniority, common to both Malabar and Coorg. (3) As soon as the brothers and sister cross over into Coorg, conflict arises between them. The sister proves supreme, but the brothers manage to defeat her in the end by adopting unfair means. (4) The sister's defeat expresses itself in the caste idiom—a familiar idiom in Coorg folklore. (5) The transition from matrilineal Malabar to patrilineal Coorg results in the overthrow of the sister by the brothers. The brothers adopt unfair means to overthrow the sister, but having overthrown her, are not happy about her degradation. Iggutappa's mountain is covered with clouds which dissolve into rain on the first of Aries: the tears he sheds are not crocodile's tears, as the situation is essentially ambivalent. (6) Finally, the brothers all undergo Sanskritization. The eldest of them is identified with Subramaṇya, while the two younger brothers

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Several competitions are held on the village green. The men are asked to shoot at a target (*kuri*). A variant of this is shooting at a target while running (*ōṭu boḍi*). Three stout plantain stems are planted very close to each other and men are invited to cut through them with one stroke of the Coorg sword. Coorg youths struggle for the possession of a coconut (*téngé pōré*). There is a high-jump competition, and then there is a form of putting-the-shot: the competitors are required to throw a round stone backwards over their heads. He who throws it farthest wins.

All the adult males in every *okka* in the village or *nāḍ* have to co-operate in the collective hunt that is held after the 'festival of arms'. Each *okka* takes its dogs to the hunt. Every *dog* gets a portion of the meat of the animal killed. Every man taking part in the hunt gets a share, and those who hit the game first and second get an extra share each. He who first hit the game is also entitled to the animal's head, while the one who was the first to touch the killed animal's tail is given one of the front legs in addition to his ordinary share.

A man who shoots at an animal must not only hit it, but must draw blood as well. Blood, in this context, is referred to as *nambigé*, which means evidence. Failure to draw blood is punished: thorns are drawn across the bare buttocks of the unfortunate hunter before the assembled members of the hunt.

It was mentioned earlier that a man who killed a panther was entitled to have *nari mangala* performed on the village green, whereas he who killed a tiger was entitled to have it done on the *nāḍ* green.

It was pointed out earlier that Ayyappa, the son of Vishṇu and Shiva, becomes the hunting god *par excellence* in Coorg, roaming the forests at night, whistling to his pack of dogs. Vows are made to him before a hunt, and offerings of clay images of dogs and horses are made before his shrines in the jungle.

The general preference for the martial way of life expresses itself in belief, ritual, and myth. For instance, the Sanskritic belief that an eclipse is caused when the serpent Rāhu tries to devour the sun or moon provides the basis for a characteristically Coorg story. A one-eyed cobra lived in an anthill and near by was a creeper which had put forth an enormous gourd in which lived a hare. A strong wind blew the gourd off the creeper, and it broke when it hit the ground, setting the hare free. The cobra went after the running hare,

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trying to catch it. It chased the hare round the world. The moon was watching the chase from above and he dropped a rope to help the poor hare. The latter promptly climbed up the rope and settled down in the moon's lap. The cobra tries to catch its prey periodically, and whenever it does so, an eclipse occurs. When an eclipse is in progress Coorgs shout, 'O one-eyed Siddappa (cobra), set free, set free.' They shoot at the sky to make the cobra disgorge the hare.

The martial orientation of Coorg culture is not a recent phenomenon, nor does it seem to be in danger of dying out: in the last war over 1,300 Coorgs enlisted as soldiers, and the first Indian Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, General K. M. Cariappa, is a Coorg.

The *sanyasi*, the man who has renounced the world to pursue a life of prayer and contemplation, commands very great respect among Coorgs. He leads a celibate life, and in his case bachelordom does not constitute a drawback. The rules which apply to ordinary men do not apply to him. Preference for the *sanyasi* is found everywhere in India among Hindus.

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538 Richter's understandable irritations and prejudices prevented him from
177 comprehending the true function of the *purāṇa*, which is to account for certain inconsistencies in the culture of Coorgs, and to 'place' them in the caste system. Also the weaving of a *purāṇa* round a local river or mountain represents only an initial step in the Sanskritization of the beliefs, customs, and rites of a people. It prepares the way for subsequent complete Sanskritization. Certain theological and moral ideas come initially with the *purāṇas*.

Richter is right in saying that few Coorgs could have understood a *purāṇa* written in a mixture of Sanskrit and literary Kannaḍa. He could not have foreseen that it would become a folksong several decades later.

538 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* describes the story of the divine origin of the
778 rivér, enumerates the sacred bathing places along its course from source to estuary, and some of the temples on its banks. It deals with Coorg, the country in which the river has its origin, and Coorgs, who are its most distinctive, numerous, and important inhabitants. It gives the story of the origin of Coorgs.

539 Long ago, Kavēra Muni, a sage, retired to Brahmagiri (the present source of the River Kāvēri) mountain in order to meditate on Brahma, the Creator. Kavēra's devotion was so great that in the end four-headed Brahma appeared before him and asked him what he wanted. Kavēra told Brahma that he wanted children. Brahma replied that Kavēra could not have any children of his own because of sins committed in a previous life, but as Kavēra had shown exceptional devotion, Brahma presented him with Lopāmudré, Brahma's adopted daughter, and a manifestation of Pārvati. The sage was pleased with the boon. Lopāmudré informed Kavēra that she regarded herself as his daughter, and that she wanted to become a holy river, a bathe in which would rid people of their sins.

The girl lived with her foster-parents, Kavēra and his wife, till they both died. Some time after their death she met a great sage Agastya,[1] who had gone to the Brahmagiri mountain in order to meditate on Shiva. Agastya fell in love with Kāvēri, as the foster-daughter of Kavēra was called, and asked her to marry him. She agreed on condition that she would leave him for good if she was ever left alone even for a little while.

One morning Agastya wanted to bathe in Kanaké, a river which rises in the Brahmagiri mountain, a mile from the source of the Kāvēri. He put his wife into a vessel and handed the vessel to his young Brahmin disciples for safe keeping during his absence. Kāvēri, annoyed at being

[1] Agastya is a famous rishi, the son of the Vēdic gods Mitra and Varuṇa by Urvashi. He is said to have been born in a water-jar, and was very short of stature. He once drank up the oceans, and compelled the Vindhya mountains to prostrate themselves before him. Tradition accords him a great place in Tamil literature, and also credits him with the introduction of Sanskritic Hinduism and Sanskrit literature into the South. He is also associated with mountains.

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left alone, made the boy carrying the vessel stumble and fall. The vessel 539
rolled on the ground and Kāvēri escaped from it and flowed away as a river. The disciples then stopped the river which promptly went underground. (The Kāvēri flows underground from the source till Bhāgamaṇḍla, where the Kanaké joins it.)

Agastya returned from his bathe and learnt of what had happened in his absence. He ran after his wife who was swiftly flowing away as a river. He caught up with her and expressed his regret at having left her alone and begged her forgiveness. As a result of his entreaties, Kāvēri decided to split herself into two halves, one half flowing away as the River Kāvēri, and the other half becoming Lopāmudré, the wife of Agastya. Agastya then told the river-half the course it should take to the sea, and enumerated the centres of pilgrimage along the course.

II

Long ago a Brahmin sage named Suyajnya settled down on the Brahmagiri mountain and meditated upon Vishṇu with great devotion. His devotion was so great that Vishṇu appeared in person before him and asked him what he wanted. Suyajnya replied that he wanted children, and Vishṇu gave his own daughter Sujyoti to the sage. The deity asked the sage to take the girl to Kanaké, servant of Indra, living on top of the Agni Mountain, near the source of the Kāvēri. Suyajnya did as Vishṇu had instructed him, and took Sujyoti to Kanaké. The two girls decided to meditate together. They did so for several centuries, giving up food and water. At last Indra appeared before them, and he at once fell in love with Sujyoti. He married her.

Some time after marriage Sujyoti informed her friend Kanaké that she was dissatisfied with the life she was leading, and that she wanted to do good to mankind. She suggested to Kanaké that both of them should become rivers and join the Kāvēri. Kanaké fell in with Sujyoti's suggestion and the two flowed away as rivers. Indra became indignant when he saw that his wife had left him to become a river. He cursed her, 'You have become a river without my permission. May your waters dry up.' Sujyoti was so distraught with grief when she heard the curse that Indra felt sorry for her and modified his curse, 'You will flow without water till you join the Kāvēri at Bhāgamaṇḍla, and then in the company of Kāvēri and Kanaké join the sea.'

The Rivers Kāvēri and Kanaké meet at Bhagāmaṇḍla, and to these 538
two which actually meet there the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* adds a third, 177
Sujyoti, which is said to meet the two unseen. Apropos of this Richter writes, 'The story of the invisible river Sujyoti, joining the Kanaké and Kāvēri is a lame imitation of the northern tale, that Saraswati, a stream of great renown among the Brahmins, is not lost, as it seems, in the

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538 desert sands, but joins the Jumna and Ganges at Prayāga (Allahabād).'[1]
177 The *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is an attempt to produce a southern parallel to the northern model. Here again is an instance of the way in which the Sanskritic idiom extends over the whole of India.

III

539 Another, and a very important, part of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* brings the river Kāvēri, the country of its origin, and the most distinctive inhabitants of the country, Coorgs, all into relation with each other. A special and intimate bond is created between the three.

Siddhārta, the King of Matsyadēsha, had four sons, the youngest and most gifted of whom was Chandravarma. Some time after he had come of age Chandravarma left his father and went on a pilgrimage to various holy places in south India. In the course of his pilgrimage he went to the Brahmagiri mountain where he meditated on Pārvati, the wife of Shiva. When the goddess presented herself before Chandravarma and asked him what he wanted, he replied that he wanted a kingdom, a wife of Kshatriya caste who would bear him children, and a place in heaven after death. Pārvati told him that owing to sins committed in a previous life, he could not have children from a wife belonging to his own caste, but would have to be content with children from a Shūdra wife. The goddess herself presented him with a Shūdra bride, and told him that his wife would bear him eleven sons, who would be called *ugras*. They would be courageous and righteous, and respectful to Brahmins. They would be equal to Kshatriyas in every respect except one, viz., they would not be entitled to the performance of Vēdic ritual. They would be devoted to the worship of Shiva and Pārvati.[2] The goddess assured Chandravarma that she would be born in course of time as the River Kāvēri, and confer prosperity and other blessings on the children (Coorgs) of Chandravarma. She asked him to go forth and clear the land of Mlēchchas (Muslims). She gave him a victorious sword, a white horse quick as the wind, and an army to drive the Mlēchchas out of the country.

Chandravarma overcame the Mlēchchas and married a woman of his own caste according to Vēdic rites. The coronation ceremony was performed by Brahmins to whom he gave houses and lands. He invited other castes to settle down in Coorg, called Matsyadēsha after the country ruled by his father. He had eleven sons from his Shūdra wife, and Vēdic rites were performed for each of them on occasions like the conferment of name, performance of tonsure, and investment with the sacred thread.

[1] Op. cit., p. 216.

[2] The *Skānda Purāṇa*, of which the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* is only a part, has a Shaivite orientation. The River Kāvēri is identified with Lopāmudrē, a manifestation of Pārvati.

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In this respect they were treated like Kshatriyas and other twice-born castes.

When they came of age, the eleven sons married the hundred daughters of the King of Vidharbadēsha, the eldest son Dēvakānta marrying twenty girls, the second son, sixteen, the third, twelve, and so on.

Chandravarma retired with his two wives to the Himālayas to meditate on Shiva and Pārvati. Before his departure he told his children that Pārvati would be reborn in Coorg as the River Kāvēri and that they would be happy as long as they continued to worship Shiva and Pārvati, and the Brahmins.

Each of the sons of Chandravarma had more than a hundred sons. They were all very strong men, with nails as sharp and powerful as the tusks of boars. With their nails they levelled the ground and tore up the forests, and generally reclaimed land.

> 'Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the *varahāvatāra* (the boar-incarnation of Vishṇu),[1] the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Krōdadēsha, and its inhabitants 'Krōda people'. The word Krōda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Koḍagu, which is the present, and probably was the original name of the country.'[2]

Two days before the first of Libra, when the Kāvēri festival is celebrated annually, Pārvati appeared in a dream to Dēvakānta, the King of Coorgs, and ordered him to assemble his people in a place called Balmuri, where she would meet them. Accordingly, all Coorgs assembled there to greet Pārvati in the form of a river. The river came rushing down the valley, and the violence of the flood pushed the frontal knots of the women's *saris* to their backs, and even now Coorg women push the frontal knot to the back in memory of their first bathe in the Kāvēri. Pārvati appeared in person before the assembled Coorgs, and told them to ask a boon of her. Coorgs asked for children, wealth, a kingdom for themselves, and a priest, and Kāvēri granted them everything they asked for.

It is clear from the brief summary of the *Kāvēri Māhātmya* given above that it is Brahminical in origin. Brahmins are praised in it, conferred wealth and other privileges, and Coorg kings are told that they should 'establish holy Brahmins' in their land.

[1] A demon named Hiraṇyāksha dragged the earth to the bottom of the sea. Vishṇu assumed the form of a boar (*varāha*) and rescued the earth after slaying the demon at the end of a contest lasting a thousand years.

[2] Op. cit., p. 224. *Krōdha* means 'anger, wrath, and passion'.

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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: ñaṇḍuku maṇḍe ille, koḍavēku cakke ille 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

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parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly.

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aŋgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na

these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81.

[1] aŋgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē.

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585 614 537 ku:ɖɯ kuṭumba sa:lɯ beci nindi:ra:. 'People of the district in two parties and relatives in two parties and aruvés, people of the lineages and blood relations, the assembly and the sibs, have you formed lines and stood?'

A member of the bridegroom's party answers: nindi:tɯ 'they have stood'.

Speaker of bride's party: a:naka ko:daṇḍ(a) okaḍa taŋgammë: nd(ɯ) ënṇuvë kannina kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ɭapë: nd(ɯ) ënṇuvë baymbëŋgɯ tandu: bendu: parandiṭɯ tapa kovva: nd(ɯ) a:yiṭɯ na:ɭɯ mu:rta no:ṭiṭɯ inde:këṭɯ dinaṭɯlɯ maŋgula kuricitɯ indɯ maŋgul(a) a:ḍi bandalli taŋgammë: nd(ɯ) ënṇuvë kannina ka:ɭapë: nd(ɯ) ënṇuvë baymbëŋgɯ sammanda koɖɯkanalla.

'If so, in the matter of the girl called Taŋgammë of the Ko:daṇḍa sib and the man called Ka:ɭapë of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, having made an offer of marriage and relationship, having agreed saying that they would give and they would receive, having looked for an auspicious day and moment, and eight days before today having formally arranged the marriage, now today when the marriage procession has come, let us give the girl called Taŋgammë to the man called Ka:ɭapë, giving her rights in his sib (sammanda).'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koɖɯka.
'Let us give.'

Speaker of bride's party: a:ce:ŋgi kɯ:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kë:kɯ nindë gurumano na:lɯ kö:ṭ(ɯ) aramano ni:rɯ balipë kaŋatare nu:ra:yira baṭṭi[1] bu:mi nu:rɯ kaṇḍa[2] ba:ne upë|a ne:ŋgi noga taye tami allate bu:mir(a) a:ka e:ka e:kaḍ(a) e:ri kuŋḍitere ku:ɖa sammanda koɖɯtira:.

'If so, of the Kɯ:tiaṇḍa sib, the ancestors' shrine[3] which stands to the east (of the dwelling-house), the palace (=house) with its four buildings (round the central court), the well where they draw water, the arable land of 100,000 measures, the pasture land of 100 pieces, the plough with which they plough, the yoke, the harrow, the yoke-rope, and besides that, of the arable land the large paddy-field, the paddy-nursery, the banks of the paddy-nursery, the manure-pit, all did you give her as her rights in the sib?'

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[1] More usually a:yira baṭi '1000 measures'.
[2] More usually paṭṭu kaṇḍa '10 pieces'.
[3] Usually in ordinary speech called kaymaḍa; each original sib-house (ayanmane) has such a shrine of its ancestors, supposedly on the site where the first ancestor was buried and frequently enough actually containing a tomb.

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Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍutatu.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: okuvē kaḷa kaḷatulu bo:ṭi cita:ri(u) aki kommel(u) upu tuyyatu maḷu karavatu puḷi kalatulu pa:ra bindigel(u) ōṇṇe baraṇilu ney allate kaḍacekallu ammikallu bi:juvē kallu meypē](a) oḷake cavṭuvē ra:ṭe bakatu guḍḍa ka:cuvē gaññi ko:tuvē cembu katuvē puḷḷi kuḷipēḷa pa:re atakoṭu kaḍucikoṭu meypē koṭu puḷḷikoṭu ku:ḍa sammanda koḍutira:.

'The floor where they thresh, the post on the threshing-floor (round which the cattle go in treading the grain), the rice in the storehouse, the salt in the basket, the chillies in the big store-basket, the vinegar in the pot, the chutney in the pot, the oil in the large vessel, the ghee in the pot, and besides that, the stone mortar and pestle, the roller grinding-stone, the stones with which they grind, the wooden pestle with which they pound paddy, the pounder which they tread, the bath-house in the lane, the boiler which they heat, the pot with which they dip, the fuel which burns, the tiled floor where they bathe, the cattle-shed, the calf-shed, the shed where they pound paddy, the fuel-shed, all did you give as her rights in the sib?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍutatu.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: e:lato:ṭa ka:pito:ṭa puḷito:ṭa ba:ḷoto:ṭa tenguto:ṭa iññito:ṭa mañjato:ṭa pañjeto:ṭa ku:ḍa sammanda koḍutira:.

'The cardamom-plantation, the coffee-plantation, the orange-plantation, the plantain-plantation, the coconut-plantation, the ginger-plantation, the turmeric-plantation, the vegetable-garden, all did you give as her rights in the sib?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍutatu.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: nē:ti ketuvē matu bi:di ketuvē kati maṇgaḷapē guddali ouki po:nē co:mē madici po:nē po:ri patukuḍi a:ḷu paytakētu patu karapa paymbaṭi nellu nell(u) aḷapē pa:ni koci aḷapē se:ru aki aḷapē ma:na ne:leḷu to:ku mu:leḷu ba:ḷu a:ṇilu kati ta:kunē taḷia tu:kunē boḷica cu:duk(u) irumbu cuṇḍeku modalu onḍutoṭu nu:ro:ḷa sammanda koḍutadallate ku:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa kaṭul(u) aḷḷē toṭulu kuññi olekēṭ(u) aḷḷi ma:laḍaṇga ba:laḍaṇga sammanda koḍutira:.

'The axe with which lifting they cut, the knife with which waving they cut, the hoe with which they dig earth, the bullock which became restive and strayed, the male buffalo which lusted after the female and strayed, the servants in ten families,

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535 614 539 the ten pairs of bullocks, the ten milch cows, the ten measures of paddy, the two-seer measure with which they measure paddy, the one-seer measure with which they measure the servants' wages, the half-seer measure with which they measure rice, the gun in the hanging slings, the long sword in the corner, the sword on the nail, the plate which they leaned against the wall, the lamp which they hung, the iron for making needles, among the articles even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, not only giving as her rights in the sib, but also of the Kuːtiaṇḍa sib, the old man on the bed, the child in the cradle, the old woman at the hearth, the family line complete, did you give her relationship with these?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍɯtatɯ.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia maka niṇgaḍa maneku baːlɯ baːke bandalli niṇgaḍ(a) okaḍa niːrɯ nĕlatɯlɯ iñji mañja naṭitɯ koːli pandi caːkitɯ ɯːlembaːle maːritɯ nĕːḍɯnĕ paṇatɯna cepɯl(ɯ) ɯṭɯ becaːna naːle piniandɯ niṇgaḍa kuññia mak(a) ĕḍɯtit (ɯ) allaṣallaː nd(ɯ) ĕṇṇɯceːṇgi iḍɯṇgm javabdaːrĕn aːnantĕ aṇgĕnaruvĕ daːrɯ.

'When our child has come to your house to rule it and in marriage, the money which she has earned, by planting with water and in shade ginger and turmeric, by rearing fowls and pigs, by selling (the fruit of) creepers and plantains, and has kept in a box, if on some day later your children have taken that money and have said: "We did not take it (lit. it is not so)," who is the aruvĕ who becomes the person responsible for this?'

The aruvĕ of the groom's sib: naːnɯ.
'I.'
Speaker of the bride's party: niṇgaḍ(a) okapeḍa ennɯ.
'What is your sib-name?'
Aruvĕ: tambaːṇḍa.
Speaker of bride's party: aːlɯpeḍa ennɯ.
'What is your personal name?'
Aruvĕ: mutaṇṇĕ.
Speaker of bride's party: maṇṇaruvĕnaː ponnaruvĕnaː.
'Are you the aruvĕ of the traditional sib or a temporary aruvĕ?'
Aruvĕ: maṇṇaruvĕnuː aku ponnaruvĕnuː aku.
'I am both.'
Speaker of bride's party: okaperiavĕᵃnaː aːlɯperiavĕᵃnaː

'Are you the oldest member of the oldest generation of your sib or the oldest member of the sib regardless of generations?' It is the latter who is the koroːkaːrĕ or headman of the sib, though of course the oldest member of the sib is usually also the oldest member of the oldest generation. This question, like the

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previous one, is asked to establish the aruvē's claim to speak for his sib. It does not necessarily follow however that the aruvē is the permanent koro:ka:rē of the sib; on such occasions as this, the oldest member of the sib who is present at the ceremony ranks as koro:ka:rē for the time being.

Aruvē: okaperiavē^{n}nu: aku a:|ɯperiavē^{n}nu: aku.
'I am both.'

Speaker of bride's party: idari pannerandacira ponnɯ. ē:ra unde:ngi taralu. kammi unde:ngi kē:tavalu.

'Here! take 12 gold coins. If there are too many, you may give us (those in excess). If there are too few, you may ask (for enough to make up the deficiency).' With these words he hands to the aruvē eleven pebbles, which represent the 'gold coins'; their significance has been discussed above.

The aruvē after counting says: pannandacira ponne: u||ē.
'It is just eleven gold coins.'

Speaker of bride's party: oracira ponnɯ illi hakɯ sta:panekɯ becandi:tɯ.

'One gold coin we have kept here with us to retain her rights in her own sib.'[1]

Speaker of bridegroom's party: inda:kanekɯ i: tangammē: nd(ɯ) ēnnuvē kanni ningada tange maka. indɯtotɯ me:vara kɯ:tiand(a) okada ka:|apē: nd(ɯ) ēnnuvē baymbēnda pommaka maka. annane ba:|like bandē ponnɯ mane ca:-yille: ndu: añci ɯtitille: ndu: pati ja:ruva: ndu: kotɯ to:ruva: ndu: o:nilɯ kete: ndu: ca:nakɯ kayya: ndu: ni:rɯkɯ du:ra: ndu: ma:vē^{n}nda ba:yiguna po:ra: ndu: ma:vi^{n}ra kayguna po:ra:ndu: odeyēnda mayguna po:ra: ndu: macinicira managuna po:ra: ndu: ku:|ɯ kuycatɯ: ndu: kari kaycatɯ: ndu: na:yi kadicatɯ: ndu: pu:fie ma:ndɯci: ndu: ētɯ kutɯci: ndu: payyu cavtɯci: ndu: kokaci ketɯci: ndu: ba:kemane butitɯ ta:manek(ɯ) o:di olici po:yitɯ a|atitɯ ba:manena pa|andandɯ ta:manena tudicandɯ a|ataka fia:ya^{n} paranditɯ tiddi ni:kitɯ batekɯ tu:du: ku:tɯk(ɯ) a:|u: kodɯtitɯ ayci tapantē anggēnaruvē da:rɯ.

'Until today this girl called Tangammē has been your younger sister and child. From today onwards she is the wife of the man called Ka:|apē of the Kɯ:tianda sib. If the woman who thus came in marriage says: 'The house is not good,' or 'They have not tiled it,' or 'The yard is slippery,' or 'The shed leaks,'

[1] My informants seemed somewhat uncertain as to the fate of these pebbles. It seems that they should be tied into the hem of the bride's sari before she is led out of the house. Certainly no great importance is attached to them in themselves and they are not kept for any length of time.

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585 614 539 or 'The lane is full of mire,' or 'It is impossible to carry dung (to the paddy-field),' or 'It is too far to go for water,' or 'My father-in-law's words are not good (lit. the qualities of his mouth are not enough),' or 'My mother-in-law is niggardly in giving supplies (lit. the qualities of her hand are not enough),' or 'My husband is impotent (or, neglects me sexually, lit. the qualities of his body are not enough),' or 'My younger sister-in-law is not affectionate (lit. the qualities of her mind are not enough),' or 'The rice was too hot,' or 'The curry was bitter,' or 'The dog bit me,' or 'The cat scratched me,' or 'The bullock gored me,' or 'The cow kicked me,' or 'The she-buffalo gored me,' if saying such things she leaves the house into which she married and going running and hiding to her father's house she sits there and stays speaking ill of her husband's house and prāising her father's house, who is the aruvē who having talked it over and settled it will give her a torch for the path and a servant to accompany her and will send her back!'

The aruvē of the bride's sib: na:nw.
'I.'

He is identified in a dialogue verbally the same as that which identified the other aruvē, the differences being only in his sib and personal names, which were given in this case as karo:ṭira and ma:dapē respectively. After he answers: okaperiavē"nu: aku a:|ɯperiavē"nu: aku, the speaker on the bridegroom's side says: idari takɯkɯ tapatē sa:ksipaṇa. 'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise.' Three annas (=paṇa) are given to him.

The speaker of the bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia makakɯ nu:rɯ bira:ṇḍa poṭi aññu:rɯ bira:ṇḍa poḍea tuṇi a:yira bira:ṇḍa pa:vu padi:ca o:le ma:le samo:ta i: okaḍa nellakilɯ ēṇṇa baṇṇa noṭitu maṇgɯl(a) a:ḍi po:nalli a: okaḍa nellakilɯ ēṇṇa baṇṇa noṭuvaka baṭelu: baylu: ka:nate kē:|ate po:co:ṇgi idɯṇgɯ javabda:rēn a:nantē aṇgēnaruvē niṇga|annea:.

[583] 'Belonging to our child, the box worth 100 pagoda-coins (the pagoda=4 rupees), the saris and clothes worth 500 pagoda-coins, the jewels worth 1000 pagoda-coins, including ear-ornaments and necklaces, having checked over their number and size in the nellaki of this sib, they will go in the marriage procession. After they have gone, when in the nellaki of that sib they check over their number and size, if on the path any has been lost unseen and unheard, is it just you that is the aruvē who is the man responsible for this?'

The aruvē of the bridegroom's sib: na: nanne:.
'Just I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: idari oke teraṇgatē be:li e:ri teraṇgatē kallɯ annane takɯkɯ tapatē sa:ksipaṇa.

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'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise, (being immovable) as the fence over which the jungle does not encroach and the boundary-stone beyond which the walls of the paddy-nursery are not shifted.' With these words he gives three annas to the aruvē. 585 [614] [539]

After the bride has thus been made a member of her husband's sib, he goes to the kitchen and without entering it takes her hand and brings her out. After this, her mother removes the cloth which he has up to this time worn on his head and puts it on his shoulders; he may leave it there or remove it entirely after this. He and his party with the bride and some members of her party then start for his house. As he is bringing her out of the house, the incident with her male cross-cousin takes place as has been described above. When they have arrived at the house of his sib, formal salutations take place, noteworthy among them those of the bride to her parents-in-law, and some member of the bride's party cuts six plantain stems. The bride is led into her husband's room and remains there except for the water-carrying ceremony. Everyone receives betel and light refreshments. Then the bride removes her veil and is led out to the well with music and accompanied by all the people. She breaks a coconut and pours the juice into the well, and then carries on her head a pot of water from the well to the house. Formerly according to tradition and the wedding song, she also carried a load of dung to the paddy-field. These are her first household duties in her new sib. She is led back to her husband's room and replaces her veil. Then all have the midday meal and the bride's party are led with ceremony as far as the pasture near the house and are dismissed. After this, songs are sung by Coorg singers and in them the bride is given her new personal name. This may be one quite different from her old one, if as has been said above, it is desired to perpetuate some name in the house or if the bride's name is the same as that of some woman already in the family and confusion might result. Or, her name as an unmarried girl may be kept with the change only of -ammē or -akē, the terminations of the names of unmarried girls, to -avvē, the termination of the names of married women, as happened in the case of the woman whose name is given in the text above; Taŋgammē became Taŋgavvē.

The bridegroom is brought to the nellaki by his best man, throws rice to the lamp and salutes all the members of his sib who are present. He is then led to his room, where the bride has been all the time except when led out to carry water. He now removes her veil, and the marriage is consummated on this night. On the following morning the villagers return, are fed at midday and formally dismissed. After some days, a variable number but usually the next day, the bride returns without her husband to her father's house. No ceremonies take place. Richter's statement that the bride is treated as a polluted woman [114]

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585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after child-birth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
614 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is
796 necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony (called kallupara kaypé 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvés of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvé of the woman's sib
[539] says: daṇḍu kaḍe na:ḍo:mu:illavé nu:bendu: aggaruvdou: ma:lu kaṇi nindire:.

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'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvēs, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the sammanda, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

The aruvē of the husband's sib: nindi:tш.
'They have stood.'

Aruvē of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] okaḍa co:makē: nd(ш) ōṇṇuvē kuññi—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa apēyyē: nd(ш) ōṇṇuvē kuññira ba:ḷш ba:ko bandalli apēyyē: nd(ш) ōṇṇuvē kuññira a:yisa koru a:yitu: co:makē: nd(ш) ōṇṇuvē kuññira adrusṭa kōṭad(ш) a:yitu: patш ka:la baḍḍш ba:vōkш ruṇa illata:naṇguṇḍш inda:kaṇe niṇgaḍa pommaka maka: nd(ш) ēṇṇitiñjē co:makē: nd(ш) ōṇṇuvē kuññina poṇṇш kōṭate:ṇgi ta:mane:[1] ndш bayyakш ka:kiaṇḍш po:luva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makē of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apēyyē of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makē who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: kш:na:ḷш maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: a:naka co:makē: nd(ш) ōṇṇuvē kuññi apēyyē: nd(ш) ōṇṇuvē kuññira ba:ḷш ba:ko bapaka aññu:rш bira:nwra poṭilш a:yira bira:nwra ma:luna sa:laḍanga ba:laḍanga terakiaṇḍш banda:ṇḍa uṇḍitш uḍutitш miñjuna:na bayyak(ш) ēḍutaṇḍш po:luva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 500 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makē brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apēyyē, may we go taking it back?'

Aruvē of husband's sib: kш:na:ḷш maria:di annane.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Aruvē of woman's sib: idari sa:ksipaṇa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvē.

Aruvē of the husband's sib: ba:tш. a:naka co:mavvē:[2] nd(ш) ōṇṇuvē kuññi apēyyē: nd(ш) ōṇṇuvē kuññira va:ḷш ba:ko bandalli co:mavvōṇgш ou:duk(ш) irumbш cuṇḍekш modalш ondutoṭш nu:ro:ḷa—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelш sammanda koḍupaka—[husband's sib-name] okaḍa manelш co:mavvōṇg(ш) iñjē sammandatwna kovvaññi niṇga taṇdē pannandaci ponn(ш) idari. beci tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvē's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvē rights in the house of the—sib to (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

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[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ṇш kōṭate:ṇgi aramane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; sc. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvē termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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2:Emeneau L-5 (1936-1937) 1938
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even as small as the cuṇḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Co:mavvé came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apĕyyé. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Aruvé of woman's sib: ba:tu.
'I have received them (lit. they came).'

Aruvé of husband's sib: idari sa:kṣipaṇa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvé.

Aruvé of woman's sib: ba:tu.
'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulae are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

Appendix II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age elder or younger than himself (see 1). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age elder or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (G) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (J) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

in these jungles, but it is said, that on the western slopes of the Ghats the bamboos are still alive and in vigorous health. 137 [539]

The Coorgs have a Canarese proverb:

"Aruattu warushake ondu katte,
Yeppattu warushake ondu yette."

which means:

"Once in 60 years the bamboos will decay,
Once in 70 years a famine may hold sway."

Lieutenant Connor in his "Coorg Survey" states it as a curious fact, that in 1817 in the whole of the district of Wynád there was scarcely a bamboo clump to be seen, that was not dead, dying or in blossom. Clumps of all ages growing contiguous to or far apart from each other were in the same condition. The same thing happened again there, as well as in Coorg, during the last few years, which occurrence would prove conclusively, that the bamboos, growing from seed and multiplying their reeds from the roots like the grasses, live for a period of about 50 years, when the whole clump with old and young reeds produces flowers and seeds and dies off the same year. From the seed a new progeny springs up, which grows very fast, but not, as has been supposed, to its whole length in one season. This is only true of such shoots as spring up from the main clump, after it has nearly reached maturity, which requires a growth of 12 years. These shoots, being armed at their extremity by a sharp, smooth hornlike cone, and without any lateral branches, force their way through the intricate mass of the parent reeds and contribute to the density, stability and statelinees of the whole clump, which may contain from 50 to 200 reeds. The several reeds are from 5 to 8 inches in diameter, jointed at every 12 or 15 inches, and hollow between the joints where thorny threepartite branches are alternately attached, of which the middle ones are strongest and make good walking sticks. The branches are repeatedly subdivided and present with their

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the day. Ancient ballads are recited, extempore singers extol the names of the principal persons among the assembled relatives. Now the Muhúrta (the propitious hour) has come. At the same time both bride and bridegroom are conducted to the wedding-seat in their respective houses. The guests put themselves in order. One after the other approaches the bridegroom or the bride, strews some grains of rice upon his or her head, lifts a brass-vessel filled with milk from the ground, and pours some drops into his or her mouth, puts a piece of money, not less than three annas into his or her hand, and passes on. When the Muhúrta is over, the bridegroom or the bride retires into another room, where they continue to sit, sometimes for hours, until the last of the guests has come, and offered his salutation and gifts. At the end of the Muhúrta the wedding company apply themselves to the dinner prepared for them. The joy of the feast is heightened by the songs of the Coorg-bards, who sing of the glories of the relatives of the house, of the families belonging to the village community, and repeat the Palmé's (ancient songs) which they have learned from their fathers. I cannot refrain from entering here the humorous wedding-song translated by Mr. A. Graeter from the Coorg original:—

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Wedding Song.

God Almighty, live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God.
Rule as Sovereign, O King!
On the surface of the earth
Coorg is like a string of pearls,
Though one of the smallest kingdoms.
In this land they count 12 valleys,
And the Nádu are 28;
But in our Nád for ever,
Like a flow'r of paradise,
Blooms the name of Appasandra.

In this Appasandra house
Lived a man of reputation,
Mandanna the mighty hero;
When he offered a petition
To the ruler of the country
For a goodly Jummu land,
He received it as a present.
For his money he now bought
Holeyas to be his servants,
And they laboured on his farm.
Bullocks too, his fields to plough,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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He procured the heavy money,
And completed all his labours.
When he now lived comfortably,
Mandanna the mighty hero,
In his mind was meditating
And within himself he pondered
Constantly this one idea:
"I have rice and costly garments,
But no one to dress and nourish;
I have precious stones and jewels,
But where is the wife to wear them?
In a household without children
Vain is all our toil and trouble;
Ho! there is not here on earth
Without wife bliss or enjoyment.
If a tank is without water,
Has it not been dug in vain?
And a garden without flowers,
Has it not in vain been planted?
Who would like to eat cold rice,
Void of curds and void of salt?
Sons must be in our houses,
And our rooms be full of children."
So he thought within himself,
And, one lovely Sunday morning,
When the silvery dew was sparkling,
Took a meal, and dressed himself,
Joined his hands in adoration
To the ancestors and God;
Sent a man to call his Ar'wa
To conduct him on the journey,
Took his stick adorned with silver,
And then started with his friend.
Where between the woody mountains
Thrones the lofty Kuttamali,
Wand'ring through the hilly country,
He went off to seek a wife,
Till his soles were off with walking;
Pond'ring sat in all the Mandus,
Till his dress was torn by sitting;
Wandered in the scorching sun,
Till his head was hot and giddy;
Wandered till the walking stick
In his hand was growing shorter.
Mandanna the mighty hero
Sought a wife in ev'ry quarter,
But no house would suit his mind.
If he found the house was right,
Then the servants would not suit him;
If he found the servants right,
Then he did not like the cattle;
If he found the cattle right,
Then the fields were miserable;
If the paddy land was good,
Then the pasture ground was bad;
And if all these things were good,
Then the maiden did not please him.
While he thus was sorely troubled,
News arrived of consolation:—
In the Nalkundd there lived,
In the Pattamdda house,
Chinnawwa, a lovely maiden.—
When he heard this information,
Mandanna, the mighty hero,
Slowly with his friend proceeded
To the house, and there sat down
On the bench of the verandah.
Chinnawwa, the lovely maiden,
When she heard of their arrival,
Came and brought a jar of water,
Poured it in a silver pitcher,
Placed it on a glittering mat,
Spread another mat for him
In the seat of the verandah.
Pattamdda Chinnawwa
Modestly stood on the threshold,
And she asked him: "Why, my friend,
Did you not take any water,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870)1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Um it and then call for more?"
So she asked, and he replied:
"Certainly I will, my dearest,
"If for ever you will bring me
"Water as to-day you brought it."
She replied: "You get the water
"If you come here ev'ry day."
Mandanna now took the water,
Washed his face and hands and feet,
Thought: I'll come for more tomorrow.
Mandanna, the wise and clever,
Took again the seat of honor
And began: "My pretty maiden,
"Tell me now, where is your father?"
She replied: "My father went
"To a meeting in the Mandu."
"And where is your mother then?"
"She went to the potters' village,
"Where they celebrate a wedding."
"And where is your brother then?"
"He went down the Ghat to Kóte
"With his bullocks, to get salt." —
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the father.
Mandanna made his obeisance,
Bowed, and touched the old man's feet.
When an hour or two were spent,
To her house returned the mother.
Mandanna again saluted.
When an hour or two were spent,
To his house returned the brother.
Mandanna made his obeisance.
Then they had some conversation,
Talked about their friends and kindred.
Now they asked him: "Dearest cousin,
"Will you please to let us know,
"Why you undertook this journey?"
He replied: "My dearest father!
"I have heard, that in this house
"There are bullocks to be sold,
"And moreover that there lives
"In this house a lovely maiden,
"Whom you want to give in marriage." —
"All the bullocks have been sold
"In July," replied the father,
"And the daughter too has gone,
"In the month of May she left us."
Then gave Mandanna this answer:
"Those that want, let them be happy,
"Give me her who still remains."
Spoke again to him the landlord:
"Tell me, why you called me, 'Father'?"
Then spoke Mandanna the clever:
"I have seen your lovely daughter,
"That is why I call you 'Father.'
"Evermore with admiration
"You behold the stately palm-tree;
"If a tree is poor and crippled,
"You forgot to look upon it."
Then the father spoke again:
"I will let you have the daughter,
"Give a pledge, that you will take her." —
"Shake then hands with me," replied
Mandanna, "and as a pledge
"Take from me this piece of money."
After this the father went
For his Ar'ves to assist him
In the wedding ceremony;
Women swept the house and chambers,
Filled the store-rooms with provisions
For the merry wedding feast.
Where the bounteous brazen lamp
From the ceiling is suspended,
Aryves and near relations
Came together from both houses,
Stood and settled the engagement
And the lucky day of wedding.
Whereupon the happy bridegroom

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Gave his bride a golden necklace
As a pledge, and eight days after
Was the wedding celebrated.

[574] In the afternoon, the bridegroom is conducted by his party in procession to the house of the bride. There a new feast is provided for the strangers, abundance of rice, pork and spirits. Dinner over, the parties of the bride and bridegroom, each consisting of the representatives of their respective villages, stand in two rows opposite each other. A lamp is lit between them. The bride's party, the Aruva being spokesman, ask the bridegroom's party: "do you give to our daughter, house and yard, field and jungle, gold and silver?" This question is thrice put. When it is answered in the affirmative, the bridegroom's Aruva delivers three little pebbles into the hand of the bride, who binds them into the hem of her garment, in token of her right to the property of her future husband's home. The bride is then conducted into the kitchen and seated upon a stool. A light is kindled. The bridegroom is now brought in. He strews some grains of rice upon her head, gives her a little milk to drink, and makes her a present of some coin, half a rupee or a rupee. He is succeeded by his parents and relatives, who salute the bride in the same manner. After this welcome, given by the whole family to the new member, the bridegroom takes the hand of his bride, bids her rise, and leads her into the outer room of the house. Thus the daughter bids farewell to the house of her birth and renounces all her claims upon the family and property of her parents. Upon this the wedding party returns to the bridegroom's house. Again the guests are [624] feasted. Then the Aruva of the husband conducts bride and bridegroom into their own room, and dismisses the party.

After five, or seven, or nine, or eleven days the bride's relatives arrive at the house of the newly married couple, and carry the bride with them.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

d. Childbirth. 844

The birth of a child renders not only the mother of the new born babe, but the whole house unclean and every one who may come in contact with them. This ceremonial uncleanness (Sútaka) lasts for 7 days, be the babe male or female. The mother is confined for 2 months to the house and not expected to engage in any work, but to recover her strength and to devote herself entirely to her child. This singular custom no doubt greatly contributes to the general good health and vigour of the Coorg women. Daughters are not much valued. They must be brought up and yet are destined to be entirely alienated from the house by their marriage. Boys are the stay of families. As soon as a Coorg boy is born, a little bow of a castor-oil-plant stick with an arrow, made of a leafstalk of the same plant, is put into his little hands, and a gun fired at the same time in the yard. He is thus, at taking his first breath, introduced into the world as a future huntsman and warrior. This ceremony, however, has almost lost its meaning and ceases to be generally observed. On the 12th day after birth, the child is laid into the cradle by the mother or grandmother, who on this occasion gives the name, which in many instances is both well-sounding and significant: thus for boys—Belliappa (silver-father), Ponnappa (gold-father), Mandanna (the brother of the village-green); for girls—Púvakka (flower-sister), Muttakka (pearl-sister), Chinnawa (gold-mother).

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The cradle, woven of slit bamboos and cane, and fitted to be hung up for swinging, requires but a little trimming to render it as tidy as any fashionable berceaunette; at all events the little Kodagu smiles and sleeps in it as happy as a prince; and as his mother bends over her darling with overflowing love and happiness and hums the Coorg lullaby:— [539] 854

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's mother comes,
"She will give her darling milk.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's father comes,
"He will bring you cocoanut,

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's brother comes,
"He will bring a little bird.

"Jáwa, jáwa, baby dear!
"When the baby's sister comes,
"She will bring a dish of rice."

Are we not reminded of our own familiar nursery-rhyme:—

"Baby, baby bunting, Father's gone a hunting.
"He's gone to get a rabbit's skin, to wrap my little baby in."

e. Death and funeral ceremonies.

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A case of death defiles the house for seven days. The corpse is either burnt or buried. The bodies of the young, who die under 16 years of age and those of women are buried; those of other persons, especially of old people are burnt.

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On the death of a member of a Coorg family, messengers are despatched to every house of the village-community. As on a wedding, each house must send at least one male and one female member to do service on the occasion. The Aruva (624) of the family has again the direction of the ceremonies. 764 Under his superintendence the corpse is washed and dressed by the men, who have followed the funeral summons, if the deceased is a man, but if a woman, by the women. It is remarkable, that the Coorgs see no defilement in the handling of a corpse by the funeral party. It is enough for them, to bathe and to change clothes on their return home. The

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

765 the great day of the conclusion of funeral rites, arrives, the whole village community is again invited to a feast in honor of the departed and for the quiet of his soul, and thus the last end of a Coorg's earthly course has come.

764 539 The Coorg funeral song is most pathetic and touches a kindred chord in every sorrowing heart:—

Funeral Song.

Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe is me! For ever gone!
Gone with all thy soul of virtue!
Oh! how can I live my father!
Woe! thy days are now concluded,
And the share, assigned to thee
By the Lord, is now consumed
And no further portion granted.
Oh! thy wish was not to die,
But to stay among the living.
Surely, man came to this world
But to die; not one of us
Is exempted from this doom.
Onward! onward roll the years;
Oh! how soon were thine concluded!
Like the eagle in the sky
Thou wast roaming here on earth.
Woe! the string of choicest pearls
Round the neck of our children
Is for ever burst and scattered!
Woe! the clear and brilliant mirror,
Fallen out of our hand,
Fallen to the ground, and broken!
Woe! the wrath of God Almighty,
Floods of fiery indignation,
Boiling on the lofty mountains,
Swept their summit to the ground!
Like the enemies at night,
Breaking into peaceful houses,

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

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Slaying all the valiant men,
Even thus has God Almighty
Suddenly cut off thy days.
Like the top of Tumbomale
In the sultry days of summer,
When the sun is hot and burning,
And the grass is set on fire,
Thus, O father, was this house
Desolated by thy death!
As the raging storms in June
Break the fruitful plantain trees
In the garden round our house,
Thus wast thou cut off, O father!
When the floods destroy the shed,
Where the stores of wood were sheltered,
All the house is in distress.
When the meeting hall is ruined,
All the villagers lament.
If the temple is destroyed,
All the land is full of sorrow.
Thus is our house distressed
By thy sudden death, O father!
As they quench the shining flame
Of the luxurious golden lamp,
Thus has God destroyed thy life!
As the stately Banyan tree
In the lofty mountain forest,
Which the ax has never touched,
Is uprooted by the whirlwind;
Like the bright and shining leaf
Of the royal Sampigé,
Broken from the stem and withered;
Thus wast thou cut off, O father!
In the days of life thy hand
Had supported our house,
Thou hast planted our fields,
Thou hast laid the corner-stone,
And completed our mansion
To the roof, with costly timber.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

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Thou hast built the solid gate,
And the courts around the house.
Oh! my father; yesterday
Fallen on the bed of sickness,
And to-day before the feet
Of the Lord of earth and heaven,
And tomorrow, like the sun
Setting in the cloudy sky,
Thou shalt sink into the grave.
Woe! my father, thou art gone!
Woe! my father, gone for ever!

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4. POPULAR FESTIVALS OF THE COORGS.

The festivals of the Coorgs are not numerous. A weekly day of rest is recognised as little by the Coorgs as by other Hindus.

The two great annual festivals take place in quick succession towards the end of the year. The *Kávéri-feast* in Tulámása i. e. the time of the sun's entering into the sign of Libra in October, and the *Huttari* or Harvest-feast in November or December.

Before the monsoon in April and may the *Bhagavati-festival* is observed all over Coorg and in August, generally at the first break of the monsoon, the *Keilmurta* or festival of arms, is celebrated by the youths and men of Coorg.

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a. The Kávéri-feast.

About the middle of October all Coorg prepares for the grand festival of Kávéri. The sun has gained the ascendency over the monsoon clouds. A few passing showers only may still be expected. The rice valleys are clothed with rich paddy approaching maturity; the forests and grass hills resplendent with the freshness and beauty of spring. Every Coorg house sends one or two representatives to Tala-Kávéri. Also pil-

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AWS Coorg AWS

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hood.) On the return of the man from the field, the whole family sit down in the kitchen and eat the cakes prepared by the mistress and the other females after their morning entrance into the cooking and dining-room. When the cakes are consumed, the ceremony of the Kávéri-day is over. In houses, where some one knows how to read, he takes the Góvina-pada book and recites *the Song of the Cow*, the rest of the family listening. The day is kept as a holiday; nobody is expected to work. But there is no further ceremony.

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The substance of the lay of the cow is as follows:—One great herd of cattle was grazing in the forest, when a royal tiger appeared and in a few moments by three or four leaps threw himself into the midst of the poor, peaceful animals. The whole herd, affrighted, ran off in wild despair in all directions. One cow only stood still, and was seized by the savage beast. The cow, however, made bold to speak to her destroyer, and said: "You will kill and devour me. Do it. But give me a few moments' leave to go after my poor calf, to let it drink for the last time, and to commit it to the care of kind friends, before I die." The tiger, astonished and moved by the speech of his victim, causes the cow to swear, that, after performing her last duty, she will return and deliver herself to her hungry master. She swears and goes to seek her calf. Having found it, she gives it to drink, and then commits it to the care of her friends, entreating them to allow it to share their milk with their own calves, not to kick, when it comes from behind to drink, nor to turn their horns against it, when it comes in front. Having sworn, she would rather die, than break her word, she returns to the tiger, and begs his pardon for having detained him so long and increased his hunger. But the tiger in the presence of such truth and goodness, is seized with remorse. His heinous sins rise to his mind in dreadful array. The slayer of a thousand cows sinks under the burden of his wickedness.

4: Richter M, G-5 (ca. 1856-1870) 1870 AW5 Coorg AW5

"If I killed this pattern of righteousness, my sins could never be forgiven," he says to himself. He declares to the cow, that she may return in safety to her calf and her herd, takes a desperate leap high into the air, and falls down dead before the good cow. This is the Coorg lay of the cow, consisting of one hundred and odd verses. 796 539

b. The Huttari-feast.

The Huttari-feast is held in honor of the annual rice-harvest. The name is derived from the Malayálam Pudi-ari, new rice, and by the rules of Coorg grammar transformed into Huttari. The festival occurs in the month of Scorpio which succeeds Libra. The day of the Coorg-festival depends upon the day fixed by the Malayálam Astrologers for the celebration of the New-rice-festival in the month of Leo. The Malayálam festival takes place two months before that of Coorg, because the rice on the coast ripens two months earlier. If the Malayálam festival of the First-fruits fall upon the first day of the Simha-mása, that of Coorg is held on the first day of Vrishchika-mása; if the Malayálam festival be on the second day of that month, the Coorg holidays commence on the second day of this month, and so on. (Simha-mása corresponds to our September—October, Vrishchika-mása to our November—December.) 796 [805] [787]

The Huttari is the great national festival of the Coorgs and of the Holeyas. It is a heathenish Christmas season, a sort of Saturnalia. The real holidays are only seven in number, but both Coorgs and Holeyas, who stand in an ancient and intimate relation to each other, generally add two or three more days of feasting and merry-making to the great week. On this occasion, as well as on the great Kávéri-day, Brahmins are in no way wanted. Nor could they well officiate in a Coorg kitchen on the Kávéri-day, or preside over the pork-and-brandy-feasts in the merry days of Huttari. [648] [527]

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here with firm grasp a husband drags his timid spouse along the rock and into the caldron; and even the tender babe at his mother's breast is brought within the influence of the bath. Dripping and shivering the bathers force their way back through the new arrivals and seek a sunny spot to change their garments. The pressure is great, the path slippery, and the confusion and pressure alarming. According to Brahminical superstition the colour of the water in the caldron indicates the intensity of the guilt of the bathing pilgrim. The darker its hue the greater the guilt, and yet the phenomenon depends only on the accident, whether the falling water is intercepted by the bodies of the bathers or whether it reaches the basin directly, and by the force of its fall is beaten into foam.

After bathing the pilgrims assemble at about 4 o'clock in the temple, where a Brahmin dances before the idol shrine with a brass image of Isvara upon his head; another Brahmin with a plate receives the small money offerings, and a third distributes Prasáda i. e. flowers and globules of sandal. The native officials first make their obeisance, the most devoted amongst them even the Sáshtángam i. e. touching the ground with the 8 members of the body, and then offer their gift. This temple possesses 2,000 batties of rice-land and annually receives on this festive occasion Rupees 400 from Government! The origin of Irpu and Hérumálu-játre is based upon a common Brahminical legend:—One day when Ráma, with his followers, was living in this place, his younger brother Lakshmana in a fit of madness insulted him by returning the bow and arrows which Lakshmana some time before had received from Ráma. Repenting of his rashness, Lakshmana asked forgiveness, offering at the same time to throw himself into a large fire as an expiation for his crime. He shot an arrow against the foot of the Irpu rocks, when a large fire flared up into which he threw himself. In order to save his

[Errata: the words "and pressure" should be omitted. See corrigenda, cat. 116, p. 493 -- Analyst]

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brother, Ráma immediately created a river, which up to the present day is called Lakshmanatírtha, but it was too late. Ráma afterwards desired to consecrate the spot and ordered Hanuman to bring a Linga from Kási (Benáres) within one hour and a half. During his absence Ráma, fearing that Hanuman would not be back in time, made a Linga himself of river-sand, in which operation he was surprised by Hanuman, who flew into a rage for having troubled himself in vain. He twisted his enormous tail round one of the neighbouring hills, *Hanumanbetta*, and attempted to upset it. Ráma, to comfort the furious monkey-god, assured him that Hanuman's Linga should become even more famous than his own. So the new Linga was set up at Hérumálu and the festive day of its worship precedes that of the Linga at Irpu!

In April and December there are játres to the *Iggudappa-kunda* in Padinálknád, where Tulu-Brahmins have a temple and receive the oblations of the Coorgs. It often happens, that a sick Coorg vows his weight in rice to that temple, and, no doubt, the heavier the man the more acceptable and effective the gift!

On the *Hottur hill* or *Kuntada-betta* in Beticlnád there is an annual játre in honor of Isvara or Siva who has there a little stone-temple dedicated to him. In 1853 the dilapidated temple was rebuilt at the expense of the Takkas and headmen of Beticlnád and their names are written on a stone slab in the temple, which is only 15 feet square, but substantially built with a Linga in front. It stands near the brink of the precipice which is about 500 feet deep and whence a beautiful view is obtained over Kiggatnád. There is also a remarkable stone on the very edge of the precipice about 2 feet broad and 5 feet long, where childless or unmarried people bring offerings of betel leaves, perform worship and turn three times round, believing that this ceremony will insure issue to the barren woman, or a suitable partner to the unmarried youth.

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the village or nád offers Prasáda and whilst throwing a flower-garland over the bridegroom's neck, he mutters a blessing, for which pious act he afterwards receives a gift in money. In case of illness Brahmins are sent for, to implore the deity for recovery. In a place set apart in the compound they perform their ceremonies and, if the patient gets well, they are amply rewarded. At a housewarming (griha-pravésha) it has become the fashion among the Coorgs to invite Brahmins and to give them a good meal and presents. The expenses incurred amount from a small sum to upwards of a thousand Rupees. The Puróhita or officiating Brahmin kindles a fire of jackwood (hebalasu) in the middle room, throws ghee and rice into the flame and repeats some mantras as required for the occasion. Thus we see, that Brahminism invades every accessible opening in Coorg life, and pandering to the ignorance and pride of the Coorgs, it is more successful than the great truths of Christianity. It is, however, to be hoped, that education along with other civilizing influences will do its work, to dissipate the darkness of ignorance and superstition and help to free the Coorgs from the trammels of priestly imposition.

To acknowledge the indigenous Coorg priesthood and yet account for its degraded state as compared with the erudition of the twice-born, the Brahmins invented the following legend, which is not in harmony with the Kávéri-Purána:—The sage Kávéra as a reward for his austerities was blessed with a daughter Kávéri, whom he promised in marriage to Agastia another sage, who also resided on the Brahmagiris. Kávéri did not accept the proposal and assuming the shape of a river fled from the mountain. Agastia in hot pursuit overtook her in Katiednád and persuaded her to submit their dispute to the arbitration of their friends. They called three families of Amma-Kodagas and six of Coorgs; the former took the part of Agastia, the latter that of Kávéri. The Amma-Codagas

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decided, that Kávéri should not be allowed to proceed; but the Coorgs declared, that a woman should not be forced to marry against her will. The enraged Agastia Muni pronounced a curse upon the Coorgs, that the generation of Coorgs should decrease, that their women should not tie their garments in front, that the sown rice should not grow and that their cows should not give milk. Kávéri Amma who was the patroness of the Coorgs counteracted the curse as well as she could in the following words: "the Coorg shall increase, but the Amma-Codagas decrease; the Coorg women shall tie their garments behind; the sown paddy shall be transplanted and the cows be milked after the calves have drunk." So saying she tried to escape, and on being held by Agastia by the border of her garment, she turned to the right and flowed rapidly away. Hence the place, where this occurred, was called Balamúri (turning to the right). A linga has been erected near the spot by the Brahmins and it is yearly visited in Tulámása at the time of the Kávéri feast by Coorgs and others, who bathe in the river. Dodda-Virájender built here also a rest-house, which, though over 60 years old, is still in tolerable preservation.

The only object this legend can have is, not to clear up the origin of the indigenous priesthood of Coorg, but to obscure and bury it under the rubbish of Puranic lore which eludes every historical investigation.

7. ARCHITECTURAL STRUCTURES AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL REMAINS IN COORG.

a. Palaces.

Besides the *Mercara-Palace*, there are two other Aramanes, one at *Nálknád* and the other in *Halerinád*, but neither is remarkable for extent or elegance. The palace at Nálknád

[Errata: This should read "The Coorgs shall" See Corrigenda, Cat. 116, P. 493 -- Analyst]

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533 Coorg measure may be best compared to that of English or
[191] German blank verse. Songs somewhat resembling those of the Coorgs are also found among the Badagas on the Nílagiris.

199 The following lines, taken from the beginning of almost
533 every Coorg song, may give an idea of the construction of
539 the Kodagu language and its resemblance to Canarese, in which language, as well as in English, a literal translation is given:—

1.	*Kodagu.*	Nôṭi nôṭi kámbakkô
2.	*Canarese.*	Nôḍi nôḍi kaṇuvâga
3.	*English.*	Having seen, having seen, when one looks
1.	*Kg.*	Bûmikelloyandadê
2.	*Can.*	Bhûmige yella unnatavâdadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the earth all high
1.	*Kg.*	Mahammêru parvata
2.	*Can.*	Mahammêru parvata
3.	*Engl.*	Mahamêru mountain
1.	*Kg.*	Pû marakkoyandadê
2.	*Can.*	Hûvu maragaḷige unnatavâdadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the flower-trees high
1.	*Kg.*	Mânjappeya pûmaru
2.	*Can.*	Mahâ sampigeu hûvu maru
3.	*Engl.*	The great Sampige flower-tree
1.	*Kg.*	Dêjakelloyandadê
2.	*Can.*	Dêshagaḷige, yella, unnatavâdadu
3.	*Engl.*	Than the countries all high
1.	*Kg.*	Pommâle Kodjavâpa
2.	*Can.*	Honnu mâle Kodagu âguttade
3.	*Engl.*	Gold necklace Coorg is

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FREE TRANSLATION:

"High above the lofty hills
"Throned the snowy Mahamêru;
"And among the flowering trees
"Is the Sampigé the finest;
"Thus is Coorg, a string of pearls,
"Far surpassing other countries."

The "*Harvest Song*", being rather long and adding no new information to what has already been given in the description of rice cultivation, is here omitted.

The Queen's Song.

God Almighty live and rule,
Rule as our Lord and God!
Rule, O glorious Sun and Moon,
In the sky as king and queen!
Land of our fathers, thrive!
Land of houses and of farms!
In the ancient times, they say,
Kanti, mother of the Pándus,
Ruled the six and fifty countries
Of the mighty Jambudvipa,
Famous from the earth to heaven,
To the borders of the ocean.
But in our days there rules
By the grace of God Almighty
On the glorious throne of England
Our gracious noble Queen,
Beauteous like a string of pearls,
Like the sweet and fragrant jasmin.
And the Lord and General *
Of her great and valiant armies,
Raised in ev'ry land the banner
Of his Queen and Sovereign:
And, the sword in mighty hand,

* The Duke of Wellington.

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Conquered kingdom after kingdom,
Conquered our happy land,
Like the bright and starry heaven
Full of villages and houses,
Houses full of blooming children
Like a garden full of flowers;
And the young men fine and stately
Like the royal Sampige;
Like a string of choicest pearls
Like the flower of the forest
Are the wives, and all their children
Like the sweet and fragrant jasmin;
Happily they live, and prosper.
And their cattle are increasing
Like the game in mighty jungles.
Rice and paddy are abundant
Like the sand along the Kávéri.
By the grace of our Queen
All the people of this country
Suffer neither want nor hardship.
Happily they live, and prosper,
Free from terror and from danger;
Like the deer in holy forests,
Where the gun is never fired,
Nor the hounds attack and slaughter.
Thus our gracious noble Queen
Guards this country and defends it
In the shadow of her wings.
Thus the Governor of India,
Thus the English rule this country
By the grace of God the Highest.
May God bless the noble Queen,
Ruling our happy country;
May He keep her and defend her.
May she gather mighty armies,
Terrible to all her foes,
To her friends a kind protector,
May she govern all the earth!
On the fiery cloud of battle,

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Riding forth the world to conquer,
The commander of her armies
Vanquished all her enemies;
Sitting on the throne of judgment
Executed right and justice.
As you shoot the ruddy amber,
So he slew his adversaries.
When the great and valiant hero
Had destroyed the royal tiger, *
All the flocks lived free and happy.
Fearless all the nations dwell
Near and far in the dominions
Of our gracious Queen and Ruler.
Long live our noble Queen
By the grace of God Almighty
To protect this happy Coorg-land!

The chanting of these songs is very simple and varies only within a range of 3 notes which are intoned with a slow tremulous and rather melancholy utterance, especially when accompanied by the rude native instruments, the monotony of which, however exciting to a crowd, is grievous to a musical ear. The Coorg instruments are: the *Pare* and *Kudikepare*, a large and small wooden drum, the *Dudi*, a metal drum, the *Kombu* or brass horn and the *Tâla* or cymbal. 533 534

It may be expected, that the Coorgs, who are a shrewd and good-humoured people indulge also in racy proverbs, with which they spice their conversations during their idle hours, or when convened in solemn meetings in the Ambala of the village-green. The following are a few specimens:— 538 521 539

1. Paṭṭama paḍekâga, pirike karikâga
Bepputeke bonkaka pirike karikâku
Peppuneke pottaka paṭṭama paḍekâku.

Brahmins are worthless for fighting, the pirike fruit (Colocynth) useless for curry, but if the pirike is properly dressed, it may be

* Tippu Sultan.

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need for curry. With proper management even Brahmins may fight.

2. Paiyu kartaka, pâlu kartadê?
If the cow is black, will the milk be black?

3. Andê maḍapavana kaṇḍê naḍakaṇḍu.
Him who holds sway we must obey.

4. Andê pertavangê âche porpokê kaiyâ?
Have we endured for one year, and can we not endure for a day?

5. Kettuvâkê bandavang totaka baḍuvê?
He who is doomed to loose his head, will he be freed for making Salâm?

6. Kâdale koichaka kôime naḍaku.
He who can spend money is accounted an honorable man.

7. Kambiyeṭṭu kakudi adirallariyu.
He who indulges in toddy in the fine season will find out his mistake in the monsoon.

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and gifts due to them, have met with singularly bad success. The Coorgs, it would appear, never troubled themselves much about the contents and the admonitions of the Kávéri book, and, though the translation of it was designed to make it accessible to them, it is so highly spiced with Sanscrit and old Canarese expressions, that few do understand it.

The Kávéri-Puráṇa seeks to glorify the holy river. Its divine origin, its connection with the Rishi Agastya, (the settler of the Vindhya-mountain-range, the great son of both Mitra and Varuna), and its course through the eastern country into the sea in obedience to the counsel of Agastya, all conspire to give it a character of surpassing sanctity.

The seizure of the Amrita, the produce of the ocean-churning by the Asuras, spread consternation and despair among the hosts of the gods. They invoked the great Vishṇu, the lord of all. He had compassion on them. From him Móhini emanated,—Lakshmi at the same time sending forth Lópámudra (a form of Párvati),—charmed the Asuras by her transcendent beauty, and restored the drink of immortality to the gods. After having delivered the gods, she retired to Brahmagiri—where the sources of the Kávéri now are—and was changed into a rocky cave. Lópámudra was given to Brahma, who brought her up as his daughter. Thus ends the first act, the scene (true Puráṇa fashion) being laid in the heavens. The second act passes to the earth. Kavéra Muni retires to Brahmagiri, there to give himself wholly to meditation on Brahma. He asks Brahma for children. Brahma—how could he refuse the prayer of his devout Rishi?—gives him Lópámudra for a daughter. She, in order to procure beatitude for her new father, resolves on becoming a river, pouring out blessings on the earth, and all the merits arising from this course of devoted goodness, are to be appropriated to Kavéra Muni. For this purpose she resorts to one of the heights of Brahmagiri and invokes Brahma, to give her the

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privilege, when turned into a river, of absolving all people bathing in the holy waters, from every sin they may have committed. Brahma, of course, grants this blessing to his daughter. Now another person appears upon the stage, who is to control the future course of Kavéra Muni's daughter. While Kávéri is still absorbed in her devotions, the great Rishi Agastya espies her, and forthwith asks her to become his wife. Though longing after the fulfilment of her vow, she consents to live with Agastya, under the condition, however, that she shall be at liberty to forsake him, whenever she is left alone. One day Agastya went to bathe in the river Kánake, leaving Kávéri near his own holy tank, guarded by his disciples. Thus deserted by Agastya against his promise, she plunged into the holy tank and flowed forth from it a beautiful river. The disciples tried to stay her course. She went under ground. At Bhágandakshétra she appeared again, and flowed on towards Valamburi. When Agastya, on his return, saw what had happened, he ran after Kávéri, begged her pardon, and entreated her to return and to remain with him. Unwilling to change her mind, yet loth to grieve Agastya, Kávéri divided herself, one half flowing off a river, the other half staying with the Rishi. Agastya then explained to the River-half, which road to take to the eastern sea, enumerating all the holy places lying in the way of the new stream.

Previous to this origin of the Kávéri river, a Brahmin, Suyajna, performed great devotions to Vishnu at Dhátripura, a spot near the fountain of the Kávéri. Vishnu appeared to him. Suyajna asked the god, to give him Mukti, (beatitude i. e. in the Hindu sense, loss of consciousness, even of self; individuality being the source of sin and misery) and to render him a benefactor of the world. Vishnu gave him Sujyóti for a daughter, and told him, "*she* will be a benefactress of the world, and *her* merit shall be thine. Go to the Agni Hill.

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Kánake, a servant of Dévéndra, lives there. Into her charge give Sujyóti, and do thou attend to thy devotions". Suyajna fulfilled the command of Vishnu. Sujyóti joined Kánake in her meditations. After a while Dévéndra came on a visit, and asked Sujyóti to become his wife. She promised to obey; but secretly she opened her mind to Kánake and told her, what grief she felt at having to be Dévéndra's wife instead of becoming a river. Both of them set off immediately as two streams, Kánake and Sujyóti. Dévéndra finding himself cheated, cursed Sujyóti, and said: let thy waters disappear. Whereupon Sujyóti begged his forgiveness, when Dévéndra, pitying her, said: when Kávéri will appear, you and Kánake may join her and in her company go to the great sea. This word of Dévéndra was fulfilled, when Kávéri flowed forth from the holy tank of Agastya. 539 177

(There are only two streams, let it be remembered, which join at Bhágamandala. The Kávéri runs under ground for some distance, which is accounted for in the Purána by the interference of Agastya's disciples.) [133]

Now follows a glowing description of all the holy country. In the eleventh chapter Sanaka and the other Rishis ask Sútapuránika about the country, in which the sources of the river Kávéri are. What name has it? they inquire; and what is the origin of the name? What are the frontiers of the country, its customs, its tribes?

To these questions Sútapuránika replies by repeating the account given in times of old to the king Dharmavarma by the Rishi Dalbhya. The frontiers of the country are these:— it lies to the west of Rámanáthapura; (thither the earth in the form of a cow went to implore Shiva's help against the Rákshasas, who destroyed her; her stony form is still to be seen there, says the bard. There Ráma, to atone for his murder of the Brahma-descended Rávana, consecrated in Shiva's name the holy Linga), to the north of the renowned Parshuráma's

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539 Kshétra (holy land); three gávuda (6 leagues) to the east of the western sea; to the south of Kanva Rishi's habitation. From east to west it measures 6 yójana (72 miles), from north to south 3 yójana (36 miles).

[101] The country has three names: the first, *Brahmakshétra*; the second, *Matsyadésha*; the third, *Kródadésha*. The origin of these names is as follows:—

a. When Brahma performed his pilgrimage over the world, i. e. India, he came to Sahyádri, where he saw a strange sight. A Nelli tree (Phyllanthus emblica) stood before him spreading a hundred boughs. As he looked at the tree, he beheld the form of Vishnu with shell, discus and club. The next moment, when he fixed his eye upon it, he saw nothing but a bare tree. Upon this Brahma worshipped Vishnu many days, pouring upon the tree out of his holy vessel water from the Virajá river. (This river is not to be found in modern geography; it runs beyond the seven seas, which surround the world). On this account the country, from which the holy river Kávéri springs, has been named Brahmakshétra.

b. Of the second name two accounts are given. There is a mountain called Halfinoon in this country, the bard says. Near it there is a holy spring. In it Vishnu took the form of a fish and worshipped Shiva. Shiva blessed the fish with immortality, and Vishnu gave the country the name of the Fish-country (Matsyadésha). The second account contains the root of Coorg tradition. Siddhártha the king of the renowned Matsyadésha, had four sons. They were learned, heroic, strong in battle. The first of them longed to rule his father's kingdom. The second was addicted to pleasure, and served his elder brother. The third had a turn for philosophy. The fourth, the most talented of the four, gave himself to ascetic exercises and visited all the Tírthas (places of holy water washing away sin), but he felt also a strong desire after dominion, and was fond of worldly pleasure. His name was

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Chandravarma. In due time he took leave of his father and set out to seek his fortune. He was accompanied by a goodly army. He visited in turn many of the holy places, Jagannáth, Tirupati, Kanchi (Conjeveram), Chidambara. At Shríranga he worshipped Ranganátha. At Dhanushkóti he bathed according to the precepts of the Shástras. Thence to Rámésh-vara, to Anantashayana (Cochin), at last to Brahmádri. Here he dismissed his army and devoted himself to the worship of Párvati. Pleased with the fervent worshipper, the goddess appeared to him, and permitted him to ask a boon. Chandravarma replied: "I desire a kingdom, better than my father's. I desire a wife of my own caste and a fruitful mother of children. I desire victory over mine enemies, I desire entrance into Shiva's heaven after death." Párvati replied: "all your desires shall be fulfilled, except the second. On account of the sins of a former life, you cannot obtain children born of a wife of your own caste. This wish you must forego in this life, in another life it may be fulfilled. You shall, however, have a wife of your own caste, and be enabled to fulfill every holy rite. But, besides her, you shall have a Shúdra wife." Saying this, she created a Shúdra woman, twelve years old, adorned with every charm, and gave her to Chandravarma. He received her at the hand of Párvati, "but," said he full of sorrow, "what will be the use to me of Shúdra children? I shall not have a real full-born son, and shall be debarred from heaven. What then is a kingdom to me? What is to me enjoyment? What then shall I do with this girl? Take back this woman, O Párvati!" Párvati says: "give up your sorrow, O Chandravarma. Through my grace thou shalt be happy in this life and in the life to come. Hear my word! Eleven sons shall be born unto thee. They will not be Shúdras. Being children of a Kshetriya father and a Shúdra mother, they will be called Ugra (fierce men). They will be valiant men, worshippers of myself and Shiva,

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righteous, true and faithful, devoted to the Brahmins, fit to rule, honored by kings, in every respect, except the possession of the four Védas and six Angas, equal to the Kshetriyas. They will be thy joy in this life and in the next. In this holy country I will appear, in due time, a river rich in blessings, the daughter of Brahma, the daughter of Kavéra Muni, the wife of Agastya. From the sacred tank of the Rishi, near the roots of the holy Nelli tree, in the month of Tulá, I will flow forth and give many blessings to thy sons from love to thee. The country is dear to me as mine eye. Mléchchhas have now rule over it, enemies of gods and Brahmins, destroyers of elephants and other living things, subverters of the law, sword-handed, wrathful, of terrific valour, with frightful bodies, a burden of the earth, the offspring of drunkenness. By my grace go forth to conquer them. Do thou become the king of this land, uphold the laws and establish holy Brahmins." Párvati gave him a victorious sword, a white horse, quick as wind, and an army, and sent him against the Mléchchhas (Turks). Upon this Párvati disappeared. Chandravarma, by Párvati's blessing, overcame the Mléchchhas. Then he collected his army, all the Rishis and all the Brahmins, to celebrate his marriage with a woman of his own caste, according to the Shástras. Both the king and the queen were crowned by the Rishis and Brahmins. Chandravarma now gave houses and lands to the Brahmins, and called also other tribes to settle in his kingdom. The country was called Matsyadésha, because a son of the king of Matsyadésha was its first king.

c. The third name of the country is Kródadésha. The following account is given of its origin. Chandravarma was the best of kings. His Kshetriya queen was barren, but his Shúdra wife bore him eleven sons. The first-born of them was Dévakánta. He and all his brothers were brought up according to the word of Párvati. Like Kshetriyas they re-

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ceived the name, the holy cord and the tonsure, with due ceremonies. When they arrived at maturity, Chandravarma was anxious to obtain for them wives worthy of such princes. He heard, that the king of Vidarbhadésha had a hundred daughters born of Shúdra mothers. Ambassadors were sent to Vidarbha Ráya, who cheerfully agreed to give his daughters in marriage to the valiant sons of Chandravarma. He himself accompanied them to the mountains of the Matsya country and to the palace of Chandravarma. A great royal marriage-feast ensued. Dévakánta, the first-born of Chandravarma, received twenty of Vidarbha Ráya's daughters in marriage. The second son sixteen, the third twelve, the fourth ten, the fifth and sixth each eight, the seventh and eighth princes received each seven of the princesses, and to each of the three youngest sons of Chandravarma four of the daughters of Vidarbha Ráya were given. When all the festivities were concluded, Vidarbha Ráya returned to his own country, but a good number of his people stayed with his daughters in the country of their adoption. Chandravarma's family multiplied greatly. Vidarbha Ráya's daughters became, by the blessing of Párvati, fruitful mothers. When age came upon Chandravarma, he grew tired of the world and of his kingdom. He called his sons together, placed the crown on Dévakánta's head, exhorted his sons to love and union, and retired with his two wives to the Himálaya, there to spend the rest of his days in the worship of Párvati and self-mortifying exercises. Before his departure, he told his sons and grandsons, that Párvati would soon be born in their country as the holy river Kávéri; "and you will be happy," he added, "as long as you abide in the worship of Brahmins, of Shiva and of Párvati."

Dévakánta was now king. All the houses of Chandravarma's sons abounded in children. Each of them had more than a hundred sons. They were all mighty men of valour, strong of arm and foot. Their nails resembled the fangs of

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boars. Ere long there was not room enough for them. The produce of their fields did not suffice to feed them. But they righted themselves soon. They went out to prepare new fields for themselves. With the nails of their strong hands and feet they tore up the ground and levelled the slopes of the hills with the valleys in a circumference of five yójanas. Then they settled themselves anew in the country, the face of which they had changed by the strength of their own arms. Around them they planted houses and families of Brahmins and other castes. Because this re-establishment of the country resembled the renowned deeds of the Varáhávatára (the boar-incarnation of Vishnu), the country of Chandravarma's sons was henceforth called Kródadésha, and its inhabitants Króda people. This word Króda is said to have been changed and corrupted by degrees into Kodagu, which is the present, and probably was the original, name of the country.

From the time of the departure and prophecy of Chandravarma, his sons and their people waited for the appearance of the holy river Kávéri. Two days before Tulásankramana (the time of the sun entering the sign of Libra) Párvati appeared in a dream to king Dévakánta, and ordered him to assemble his whole people in a place, called Valamburi. There she would appear to them. Accordingly the whole tribe assembled at Valamburi. The river came rushing down the valley, and the assembled Coorgs bathed in the fresh flood. The violence of the stream turned off the knots of the women's dresses round to their backs, and the Coorg women (says the Purána) wear their gowns in this fashion until this day, in remembrance of the first bathing of the Coorgs in the water of the Kávéri at Valamburi. In the middle of the stream, Párvati appeared in person. "Ask a boon of me," she cried. The Coorgs asked for fecundity, for dominion, for riches and for a priest. Párvati answered: "well; a priest

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you will find near the fountain of the Kávéri, a friend of my father Kavéraráya, who has for three lives worshipped me" ('three lives' does not here mean, father, son and grandson, but three actual lives of the same person, who worshipped Párvati until his death, and, when he was born again according to Hindu theory, spent his second life, and after that his third life, in the service of the goddess.) The Coorgs went and found him at the sources of the Kávéri. He taught them during a whole month, which they spent there, how to prepare food for their ancestors, and other holy rites. Since that day all the Coorgs assemble each year in the month of Tulá (October—November) to celebrate the great festival of their tribe in honour of Kávéri.

2. POPULAR TRADITION.

Disappointed by the extravagant brahminical legends regarding the origin and early history of the Coorgs, we naturally expect, that the Coorg bards, who in their Pálamés so graphically and with truthful simplicity depict the domestic and social events of Coorg life, would with equal artlessness have preserved the early pages of their country's history; but Coorg shares in the general fate of primitive Indian history—the dark ages are left with hardly a ray of reassuring light. Coorg tradition has been supplanted by Brahminism and what information one is able to obtain is in most cases but a faint echo of the legends of the Kávéri Purána or some other brahminical imposition. There is, however, one story free from this imputation, and it is of considerable value as it throws light on the origin of some of the Coorg deities, who are not the creations of brahminical fancy, though their shrines are now presided over by Brahmins. The story is taken from oral tradition, and runs thus:—In ancient times there lived in the Malabar country six brothers and a sister.

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●539 Five of them, accompanied by their sister, Ponnangálatamma, went to Coorg by the Páditorghát. While they were on the road, four of them said: "How is it that our sister comes with us; the people will say, that she is our wife?" One of them replied: "If she comes with us, we will spoil her caste." When they came to the Chouripádé-hill near the Kakabé river, they felt hungry. Then Iguttappa said to his sister: "Prepare us some food." She replied: "There is no fire nor rice." Iguttappa said: "I will give you rice, but you must boil it without fire." She replied: "I will boil it without fire, but you must eat it without salt." To this the brothers agreed. Then Ponnangálatamma, seeing a cow, which belonged to the Paradandra house went and milked her, letting the milk fall into a chatty full of rice, and while the brothers were sleeping in the shade of a tree, went to the bank of the river and buried the pot in the sand, where it began to boil. Then she called her brothers to eat the rice which she had prepared. When they had eaten enough, Iguttappa took some rice, threw it up into the air and exclaimed: "See how the hail is descending from the sky." Ponnangálatamma, angry at this, took a wooden ladle, gave him a heavy blow on his back and said: "See how the thunder breaks in the monsoon." Then the brothers all laughed at him. Afterwards, while they were sitting together and chewing betel, Pálúrappa said: "Let us see whose betel is the reddest." Then they all spat out the betel into their hands, looked at it, and the brothers threw the betel behind their heads, pretending that they were throwing it again into their mouth and chewing. The sister, deluded by this, threw the betel into her mouth again, and went on chewing. They now said that she had lost her caste. Their brother in Malabar, too, to whom they appealed, confirmed their decision. Ponnangálatamma was excessively grieved, and wept bitterly. Iguttappa afterwards threw an arrow from the Iguttappabetta and ordered his sister to go

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with the arrow and stay where it fell. The arrow struck into a mango tree at Ponnangála in the village of Yawakkapádi. Ponnangálatamma, assuming the shape of a crane, flew towards Ponnangála. Near the Karatandra house some Holeyas were working in the paddy fields. Ponnangálatamma flew upon one of them, who became possessed with a devil, and ran towards the tree, in which the arrow was sticking. The brothers afterwards separated into different villages, where they settled. The whole family were afterwards worshipped as gods. Beytárappa has a temple at Beytur in Malabar, the second in Taliparambu in Malabar, the third in the Maletambira forest in the Chómamale in Coorg, the fourth on the Iguttappa-hill near Kunjila, the fifth at Pálúr in Kuyangérinád, the sixth, Tirnalli-Timmeya at Tirnally in the Wynád. A temple was also built for Ponnangálatamma round the tree, where the arrow had stuck. At her annual feast, in April, Ponnangálatamma weeps, and is worshipped by the Holeyas. The arrow is, up to the present day, seen sticking in the wild mango tree.

Regarding the ancient government of Coorg the popular tradition states, that the country was divided into 12 Kómbus (districts) and 35 Náds (subdivisions) ruled over by petty chiefs, called Náyakas who lived in constant feuds amongst themselves and gradually succumbed to the wily encroachments of the Háleri-Polygars about whom more anon.

3. CONJECTURES REGARDING THE ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE COORGS.

In the absence of any reliable records prior to the Mussulman historian Ferishta who at the end of the 16th century casually mentions, that Coorg was governed by its own princes, our conjectures regarding its history anterior to this period are but guesses at the truth, based upon collateral circum-